

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

085 12771 3

Thesis L2965

THE PROPHEPIC VISION OF THE SON OF MAN IN THE FOURTH  
GOSPEL IN THE LIGHT OF THE RELIGIOUS TENSIONS BETWEEN  
JUDAISM AND THE JOHANNINE COMMUNITY IN THE LATE FIRST  
CENTURY C. E.

Timothy John Roffe

Ph.D. Thesis

July 1984

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

THE PROPHETIC VISION OF THE SON OF MAN IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL IN  
THE LIGHT OF THE RELIGIOUS TENSIONS BETWEEN JUDAISM AND THE  
JOHANNINE COMMUNITY IN THE LATE FIRST CENTURY C.E.

ABSTRACT

T. J. Roffe

This thesis is a typological study of the Fourth Gospel in the light of its Son of man sayings, paying particular attention to their context within the Gospel; within the four canonical Gospels; and within the Judeo-Christian tradition. It shows the importance for the Fourth Gospel of an aspect within apocalyptic Judaism concerning the vision of the open heaven. The Johannine Son of man theme reflects disputes within Judaism surrounding the vision of God. The Fourth Evangelist reinterprets the Synoptic Son of man tradition, using Old Testament texts central to these disputes, <sup>with reference</sup> to Jesus the vision of God. Our Evangelist engages on the one hand in an internal dispute with other Christians, and on the other hand in an external dispute with Jews. He retells the gospel story, <sup>with reference to</sup> his own situation. Through his Gospel we see the relation between the Johannine church and the synagogue.

My first three chapters show how the Evangelist links his Son of man theme to Old Testament vision texts to interpret Jesus as the prophetic vision of the heavenly Son of man (Jn.1:51;3:13,14;5:27). The remaining chapters show <sup>how</sup> this interpretation affects the community's worship and its relation with the synagogue.

The Fourth Gospel is different from the Synoptic Gospels. The Son of man theme is common to all four Gospels, and to apocalyptic Judaism. Therefore the conclusions drawn from a reading of the Fourth Gospel can be tested by a comparison with the Synoptic tradition and with the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ART	: <i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BTB	: <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BJRL	: <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
CBQ	: <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
Enc.Bib	: <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> , T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black (eds.), 4 Vols. (London, 1899-1907)
Enc.Jud	: <i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> , Editor-in-chief, G. Wigoder, second edition, 16 Vols., (Jerusalem, 1971)
Exp.T	: <i>Expository Times</i>
HTR	: <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	: <i>International Critical Commentary</i>
IDB	: <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 Vols., (New York, 1962) Supplementary Volume (New York, 1976)
IOS	: <i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
JBL	: <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JSS	: <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JJS	: <i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSJ	: <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSNT	: <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JTS	: <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NEB	: <i>New English Bible</i>
NTS	: <i>New Testament Studies</i>
Nov.T.	: <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
RB	: <i>Revue Biblique</i>
RSR	: <i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
RSV	: <i>English Bible Revised Standard Version</i>
RV	: <i>English Bible Revised Version</i>
SBT	: <i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
SJT	: <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNT	: <i>Supplement to Novum Testamentum</i>
SNTS	: <i>Society for New Testament Studies</i> (monograph series)
SVT	: <i>Supplement to Vetus Testamentum</i> <i>G. Friedrich and</i>
TDNT	: <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ed. G. Kittel. English translation and edition by G. W. Bromiley, 10 Volumes including index (Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TLZ	: <i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
VT	: <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZNW	: <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

CONTENTS	Page
INTRODUCTION .. .. .	1
1 : PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON APPROACH .. .. .	1
2 : STUDIES ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL .. .. .	13
3 : STUDIES ON THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	47
4 : OUTLINE OF ARGUMENT .. .. .	63
CHAPTER 1 : JOHN 1:51 THE VISION OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	98
1 : THE VISION OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	109
2 : THE VISION OF THE ASCENDING/DESCENDING ANGELS .. .. .	122
3 : THE VISION OF THE OPEN HEAVEN .. .. .	134
CHAPTER 2 : JOHN 3:13-15 THE ASCENT OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	149
1 : NICODEMUS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL .. .. .	153
2 : THE ASCENT OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	172
3 : THE HEAVENLY JOURNEY .. .. .	178
CHAPTER 3 : JOHN 5:27 THE AUTHORITY OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	200
1 : THE JEWS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL .. .. .	208
2 : DAN.7:13 AND THE SON OF MAN SAYING IN JN.5:27 .. .. .	216
3 : THE RABBINIC EVIDENCE OF THE "TWO POWERS" HERETICS IN RELATION TO JN.5 .. .. .	224
CHAPTER 4 : JOHN 6:27,53,62 THE EUCHARIST OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	245
1 : THE TRUE BREAD FROM HEAVEN .. .. .	250
2 : THE TRUE WORSHIPPERS .. .. .	261
3 : THE TRUE DISCIPLES .. .. .	273
CHAPTER 5 : JOHN 8:28;12:23;13:31 THE EXALTATION AND GLORIFICATION OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	282
1 : THE JEWS WHO BELIEVE IN JESUS .. .. .	285



2 : WHAT THESE JEWS BELIEVE .. .. .	290
3 : WHY THESE JEWS BECAME JESUS' ENEMIES .. .. .	305
CHAPTER 6 : JOHN 9:35 THE WORSHIP OF THE SON OF MAN .. .. .	318
FOOTNOTES - Introduction .. .. .	333
Chapter 1 .. .. .	350
Chapter 2 .. .. .	365
Chapter 3 .. .. .	371
Chapter 4 .. .. .	376
Chapter 5 .. .. .	380
Chapter 6 .. .. .	384 <sup>3</sup>
BIBLIOGRAPHY - Primary Sources .. .. .	388 <sup>4</sup>
Secondary Sources .. .. .	388

## INTRODUCTION

## 1 : PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON APPROACH

The Fourth Gospel shares the same central point as the other three Gospels, the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus. The framework of the gospel story is the same in all the gospels. It begins with John the Baptist and the call of the first disciples, continues with events and issues including the cleansing of the temple; the sabbath question; the feeding of the five thousand and the walk on the lake; the anointing for burial; the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Finally, much space is given to the Passion narrative in each of the Gospels concerning the trial, death and resurrection appearances of Jesus.

Not only is the framework of the gospel story the same in all four Gospels, but also several incidents are parallel within two or more of the canonical Gospels. For example, here is a list of parallels in the Passion narrative of the Fourth Gospel and Mark's Gospel: ~~beginning with~~ Jesus having supper with his disciples; betrayal by Judas and Jesus' arrest; his appearance before a Jewish court; Peter's denial of Jesus; <sup>Jesus'</sup> ~~his~~ appearance before Pilate; his crucifixion and title of kingship displayed; the soldiers gambling for Jesus' clothes; the burial by Joseph of Arimathaea; and the women finding the tomb empty. Several of these parallel incidents include close verbal similarities.<sup>1</sup>

Here is a problem. We know why the gospels were written because of the central message that they share. They were written in order to put on record the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth according to the understanding and belief of his

followers. However, each Gospel includes material outside the other three Gospels which modifies the shared gospel story in different ways. Various methods have emerged within New Testament scholarship in order to explain this phenomenon: source criticism; form criticism; redaction criticism; traditio-historical criticism; and more recently structural criticism, to name some.<sup>2</sup>

One thing that had clearly emerged from the source and form-critical methods of New Testament study in the last two centuries was that the problem of the Gospels became two problems. On the one hand there was the Synoptic problem concerning the literary relation to one another of the first three Gospels. There are remarkable though complicated agreements and differences between the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand there was the problem that the Fourth Gospel had no share in this. Source criticism looked for the literary sources behind the large ~~amount~~<sup>number</sup> of passages, very different from the Synoptic Gospels, that are found in the Fourth Gospel, in particular the Johannine signs and the revelatory discourses. Form criticism was a later more refined tool for this purpose.<sup>4</sup> However, one major reason given to explain the difference between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Gospels was that since the former was less composite than the Synoptics, it was probably the product of a single mind with a theological purpose. This purpose unified the Fourth Gospel to a level much greater than is apparent from a reading of the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>5</sup>

There are fewer individual narratives in the Fourth Gospel than in the Synoptic Gospels, and extensive discourses are often

attached to them in order to develop and explain certain themes recurring throughout the Gospel. These dialogues tend to ~~add to~~ <sup>confirm</sup> the dramatic character and literary style of the Fourth Gospel. Of the four Gospels this one gives most evidence of the literary development within the gospel genre.<sup>6</sup>

However, since the second half of this century, through the attention of the redaction-critics to the Synoptic Gospels, emphasis has been given to the theologizing tendencies within them.<sup>7</sup> This has tended to lessen the gap between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel. Instead of a Synoptic Problem without the Fourth Gospel, we can begin to look at the problem of the four Gospels.

This does give a different perspective to the nature of the relation between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel. Whilst we may consider that there are different theological tendencies in each of the Synoptic Gospels, there remain more fundamental conceptual differences between the Fourth Gospel and the rest of the Gospels.

The real historical problem,...is the origin of the conceptual world in which, in Jn, the evangelist himself is speaking, as well as Jesus, the Baptist, and the Jews. This language is characterized by the opposition of light and darkness, lie and truth, above and below; the contrast of  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$  and  $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$  ; the numerous  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$  - sayings of Jesus; redemptive concepts, such as water of life, bread of life, light of the world; and the description of Jesus as "the one whom the Father has sent," who has gone up to heaven, etc. In all these there is a difference from the Palestinian-Jewish conceptual world of the synoptic Jesus.<sup>8</sup>

The dualistic phrases and the redemptive concepts mentioned by



W. G. Kümmel in the above quotation, are all themes worthy of detailed study both in their context within the Fourth Gospel, and also in their wider context of the Judeo-Christian religious background. However, although the problem remains an historical one there is perhaps some justification for approaching the problem differently from the way in which the History of Religions School approached the historical question in the past."

The justification for a different approach is in the recognition that:

- (a) there is a literary development within the fourfold canonical Gospels;
- (b) there is a theological purpose behind each of the canonical Gospels; and
- (c) recent studies into Judeo-Christian origins suggest that certain aspects of Gnosticism may have been given impetus from apocalyptic and mystical traditions within Judaism.

It is point (a) that is decisive for my approach in this thesis, but point (a) in the light of points (b) and (c), which interact with each other. If the Synoptic Gospels each have a keen theological intention (point b), then the reason for yet another Gospel sharing the same framework and in several instances the same incidents and issues, is this Evangelist's intention to correct the theological tendencies in the earlier Synoptic gospels as well as to correct the misrepresentation of these Gospels within Judaism (point c). As E. Käsemann says, the Fourth Gospel is

in the form of a Gospel, the framework of which is composed of the conventional and traditional narrative of mighty works, Passion and Easter. It does not make any difference that nothing in this Gospel is historical in the sense of being authentic. The historicising design of the whole cries out for explanation. Is any such explanation possible without presupposing a polemic intention in which 'Jesus' is pitted against the prevailing preaching of the Church?<sup>10</sup>

This internal polemic becomes more plausible when we consider that the gnostic tendencies within the Fourth Gospel, the dualistic language and redemptive themes, were already present in the Judeo-Christian tradition (point c). The purpose for the distinctive modifications of the gospel story in the Fourth Gospel is therefore not necessarily ~~borne~~<sup>begotten</sup> by the desire to get the message across to the Hellenistic world in a way that the Synoptic Gospels could not do. My thesis is that the Fourth Gospel maintains a belief in Jesus that was part of the conceptual world of apocalyptic and mystical Judaism, though not exclusively of that world, in the face of different beliefs in Jesus within the early Christian communities and in opposition to Jewish belief outside the growing sect.

In order to accommodate a recognition of considerably more literary unity in the Fourth Gospel than in the Synoptic Gospels; in order to accommodate the more structured thematic theologizing in the Fourth Gospel than in the Synoptic Gospels; and, finally, in order to accommodate a recognition of internal and external tensions facing a sectarian community within Judaism; for each of these three reasons my approach is not to take and isolate one verse or passage of the Fourth Gospel and apply rigorously one or

more than one critical method which would demand a thesis in itself. My approach is to take sides at several points on scholarly debates on verses and passages that have already been subject to thorough source-form-redaction-critical study etc.

In my approach I seek to make sense of the Fourth Gospel as we have it in the New Testament canon; to see where this particular account of the gospel story differs from the Synoptic Gospels; and then to show that this Gospel was not just the *creation* of an original thinker but was the result of an interaction with other traditions within Judaism which are not so prominent in the Synoptic Gospels. The Son of man sayings are a useful area to begin such a study because they represent a theme that is integral to the whole of the Gospel and because on the one hand they reflect the Synoptic Gospels' sayings tradition, and because on the other hand they reflect the apocalyptic and mystical traditions within Judaism not wholly concerned with futurist eschatology which may explain the phenomenon of realised eschatology in the Fourth Gospel as distinct from the Synoptic Gospels.

My plea is that the reader will suspend judgment until the end when the cumulative argument is completed and the model is set up for other critical studies on individual passages to test that model for its limitations of applicability. There are several areas where the conclusions of this thesis could be tested for future fruitfulness. For example, the relation between the Johannine Son of man and the Paraclete in the farewell discourses; the relation between the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of

John.<sup>11</sup> Such discussions could be carried out on the basis of a study of the texts using the same approach that I have used in this thesis.

My indebtedness to the various schools of New Testament criticism is great, in particular my dependence on form criticism and redaction criticism. If I had to name an individual scholar who influenced my Johannine studies most it would be R. Bultmann without doubt (see the next section of this introduction). However, judging from the present state of New Testament criticism on the Fourth Gospel, a different approach is needed. The study of the part becomes the conclusion for the whole and for every conclusion of the whole there is a contrary one where the findings of different studies of different parts of the whole do not match.<sup>12</sup> However, if we step back a moment, or perhaps imagine we are taking an aerial view of the whole of the Fourth Gospel which, after all, does have the framework of a completed story, then it might be possible to identify some of the mountains and valleys in the Gospel which produce a landscape different from the one we had imagined. If we do not take this aerial view occasionally, we may find that we have mistaken mountains for small hillocks, or misplaced a valley which is in a different location altogether. At the end of the thesis the reader, having looked at this aerial view of the Fourth Gospel, must judge whether it was a clear day or whether there were too many clouds about.

The critical tools available to New Testament studies have helped us greatly to listen more intimately to the biographical and autobiographical stories contained in the New Testament



writings. I am merely anxious, along with others, that the methods we use to dismantle and explain small parts of a contextual whole do not prevent us from seeing that the whole ~~have~~<sup>has</sup> within it several consistent and converging patterns that can create a story more meaningful than before.

In his book *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979) J. L. Martyn uses the redaction-critical method imaginatively to help us make moves in this direction. My thesis is intended to continue his typological study of the Gospel, but in the light of a comparison with the Synoptic gospel stories and in the light of religious disputes within Judaism concerning the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven.

Therefore, of the several themes that I could have chosen from the Fourth Gospel I decided upon the Son of man sayings because of the interaction of some of them with the Synoptic sayings, and because where they differ from the Synoptic sayings their interpretation reflects both the Jewish apocalyptic interpretations of the throne vision in Ezek.1:1ff and the religious experience of conflict in the historical situation of the Johannine community. My argument is cumulative because of the nature of the context in which the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel are found. Firstly, in their literary context they are all in the first half of the Gospel where short narratives introduce long discourses. Apart from Jn.13:31 none appears in the Passion narrative although this section most closely resembles the Synoptic Gospels in its composite nature, its rapid movement of narrative, and in its details of content.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, in the light of my hypothesis, in the wider historical context these sayings are part of a dispute which, on the one hand, is internal (between the Johannine Christian community and those Christian groups more fairly represented by the Synoptic Gospels) and which, on the other hand, is external (between the Johannine sect and the Jewish synagogue worshippers). For both these reasons my approach is justifiable, I think, because the interrelations <sup>between these groups</sup> are so complex, coming from the same Judeo-Christian religious background.

The task for the student of the History of Religions schools was in this sense a different one. From the evidence of the parallels in the texts of different religious traditions he or she could make certain assumptions about their relation to each other on this evidence alone because the sources were from communities separated in time and place.

This relative isolation of the separate religious traditions made valid the study of the parallels alone within the religious texts. The comparative study of the texts of two religious traditions is different from a comparison of texts within the same religious tradition where it is possible to identify within those texts an interaction between separate communities who both claim allegiance to, and rival interpretations of more ancient texts of the same religious tradition.

Concerning the Fourth Gospel, where the parallels are drawn from closer quarters because they are more nearly contemporary and because they are from within the same Judeo-Christian tradition, the study of the parallels is much more complex. For example, we

need to explain not only the parallels at some point (as in the Feeding of the Five Thousand), but also the absence of parallels at other points (there is no transfiguration narrative in the Fourth Gospel). We have to explain the similarities and differences between four canonical books all telling the same gospel story of the ministry death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. Anyone who wants to show that one of these Gospels has different Christological tendencies, or even a different concept of salvation, ~~he or she~~ must not forget that these differences are contained within the rough hewn stone of a story. This demands a more imaginative use of historical critical methods than has often been the case.<sup>14</sup>

Some modern *students* of ancient Judaism remind us, particularly if they are Jews, that Judaism has no theology. This bold claim is made in order to emphasise that Jewish faith finds expression <sup>only</sup> in practice. In the last analysis, on the question of the emergence of a Jewish-Christian sect, we must ask why there are four accounts of the same story and not four sets of rules and doctrine for religious practice. Instead we have bits and pieces of rules and Christological doctrine consciously or unconsciously built into the stories within the one gospel story. Often these stories conflict with each other and we cannot be sure if they conflict because of attention to historical detail or to Christological interpretation at some points.

In the same biblical tradition the Gospels bear witness to the relation between God and man not through a structured theology but through a story, the story of Jesus of Nazareth. It is a rough



hewn stone which becomes smooth with time as the new religious movement itself becomes institutionalised. The theologizing process can be the result of several factors, one of which would be the conflict between the <sup>e</sup>merging sect and the existing forms of the institutionalised religion out of which it emerged. The student of Christian origins must have an eye for this smoothing process, but he must be sufficiently aware of the original story-form to be prepared to accept the rough edges that remain.

In the words of Emil Brunner,

In the Bible this two-sided relation between God and man is not developed as doctrine, but rather is set forth as happening in a story. The relation between God and man and between man and God is not of such a kind that doctrine can adequately express it in abstract formulas, as it is possible to express abstractly, for instance, the relation between the radius and the circumference of a circle or the relation between the Beautiful and the Good. It is not a timeless or static relation, arising from the world of ideas - and only for such is doctrine an adequate form: rather the relation is an event, and hence narration is the proper form to describe it.<sup>15</sup>

The primary question behind this thesis is, 'To what group of people would the canonical Fourth Gospel as we have it (Jn.1-21) make the most sense?'

In my attempt to answer this question I must ask the twentieth century scholar, trained in historical criticism, to be patient with me and suspend judgment until my argument is complete. I am trying to identify a group of people to whom the Gospel as a whole made sense which, of course, means trying to make sense of the Gospel as a whole. I am suggesting that the answer to this question will help us to decide about those details within the



Gospel which vex our historico-critical approach to the text.

I am simply putting forward the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel, as we have it, does make sense if we assume

- (a) that the writer belongs to a Christian community which reinterprets certain themes in the Synoptic Gospels; and
- (b) that the writer belongs to a group which accepts a certain Jewish apocalyptic understanding of revelation which puts them at odds with Jewish authorities within the locality of the Johannine community.

I now want to point out those areas in recent research on the Fourth Gospel which have guided me most, and show how this thesis follows two significant approaches in the search for a key to the Fourth Gospel:

- (a) the identification of a Johannine community whose teaching is in conflict internally with other Christian groups and externally with Judaism; and
- (b) the identification of an apocalyptic and mystical tradition within Judaism which can possibly explain the gnostic tendency in the Fourth Gospel and the religious tensions described in the Gospel.

## 2 : STUDIES ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The works of two New Testament scholars on the Fourth Gospel at the mid term of this century are my starting point for the orientation of this thesis in the light of other studies on the Gospel. The commentary by R. Bultmann and two volumes by C. H. Dodd; one <sup>volume</sup> a theological interpretation, the other <sup>volume</sup> an exegetical comparison with the Synoptic Gospels, provide us with studies on the Fourth Gospel which are landmarks for subsequent research. The differences and the similarities in their studies give a convenient outline for a brief survey of the developments in subsequent research on this Gospel.<sup>14</sup>

Their differences are fundamental, concerning their presuppositions, their methods, and their conclusions. There are also substantial agreements, for example; both see the Fourth Gospel as primarily a theological work; and both look beyond the immediate Judeo-Christian tradition for the religious backgrounds they consider influenced the Gospel. We shall come to these points of similarity again as they show key areas where later research on the Fourth Gospel has developed, but first I will outline the major studies of these two scholars.

In his commentary R. Bultmann has two basic presuppositions; that there existed a pre-Christian Gnosticism; and that the miracles described in the New Testament are not facts. According to R. Bultmann the descriptions of an incarnation and resurrection, of angels, and of turning water into wine belong to the world of myth and it is the task of the New Testament critic

to demythologize (*Entmythologisierung*).<sup>17</sup>

These presuppositions determine R. Bultmann's method of exegesis in the light of the striking differences between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel. He shows that the question of separating tradition from redaction in the Synoptic Gospels is a relatively easy one. The collections of isolated sayings, the parables and the miracle stories can easily be located within the individual editorial frameworks of the Synoptic Gospels. However, in the Fourth Gospel the unity of language and the close structure of narrative and dialogue make it difficult to distinguish tradition from redaction. Therefore Bultmann's approach was to identify possible literary sources behind those sections in the Fourth Gospel which were different from the Synoptic Gospels. He argued for a signs source and a revelatory discourse source which often showed a poetic form. Above all, the Prologue reveals the nature of this Gnostic source according to Bultmann.<sup>18</sup>

He pointed out that the closest parallels to the Gnostic sources in the Fourth Gospel were in the Mandaean writings and in the Odes of Solomon. According to Bultmann, the Prologue is based on a hymn belonging to the Baptist. The Evangelist reworked this hymn to oppose those who identified the Baptist with the Messiah. He sees here a Baptist polemic in which the Fourth Gospel reduces the significance of the Baptist to make him a witness of Jesus the Revealer. In the Prologue, behind the concept of the Logos as Revealer was the Gnostic Redeemer myth which the Evangelist Christianised.<sup>19</sup>

The Johannine Prologue, or its source, speaks in the language of Gnostic mythology, and its *Λόγος* is the intermediary, the figure that is of both cosmological and soteriological significance; it is the divine being that, while existing from the very beginning with the Father, became man for the salvation of men. This proposition will be confirmed by the Evangelist's presentation of the figure and work of Jesus in the terminology of gnostic mythology as the Gospel develops.

In his analysis of the possible backgrounds for the Prologue, R. Bultmann recognises similarities in relation to the Old Testament, to the Memra and to Wisdom within Judaism but he does not consider that the Judaic speculations are the source behind the Johannine Prologue. He arrives at this conclusion after presenting the many possible parallels but his presupposition of a pre-Christian Gnosticism enables him to suggest that the Wisdom poetry is itself a demythologizing of the pagan Gnostic myth. Concerning apocalyptic Judaism Bultmann comments,

There can be no doubt that the syncretistic Apocalyptic of Judaism stands under the influence of Gnostic mythology.<sup>20</sup>

Through his studies on the New Testament R. Bultmann became a major exponent of the History of Religions School. However, he did not reject the myths he found in the New Testament, as many in that School did, instead he sought to interpret those myths through a realised eschatology. At this point I can introduce Bultmann's second presupposition mentioned earlier. He was aware that modern man could not accept the mythical world of miracle and of angels in the Gospel. If the Gospel was to remain meaningful its interpreter had to deal with the myths by asking what the narrators were saying about their own existence. In the Gospel we



can find out about the experience of the early church community but not about Jesus himself. The narrator has interpreted the traditions concerning Jesus in the light of his own existence within the Christian community.

According to Bultmann the decisive factor is that God acted in history in the event of Jesus of Nazareth. The Gospels' mythology explains this, but we cannot be certain of any of the details in the events of Jesus' life and teaching. If this is the case for the Synoptic Gospels it is even more the case concerning the Fourth Gospel. Therefore Bultmann states that,

The Gospel of John cannot be taken into account at all as a source for the teaching of Jesus.<sup>21</sup> //

The mythology is interpreted by Bultmann eschatologically. The bridge between the world of myth in the New Testament and our world in the twentieth century is the interpretation of events, then as now, as eschatologically decisive. A quotation from Bultmann's commentary illustrates his understanding of realised eschatology. In his comments on the conclusion of the Book of Signs, R. Bultmann highlights Jn.12:42 which refers to those irresolute believers, like Nicodemus, who will not come off the fence to make a decisive confession of their belief. They count the honour they receive from men of more value than the honour which comes from God. R. Bultmann concludes,

How then will the man who surveys this result decide? The conclusion makes it plain to him that the issue at stake is to put the *δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ* before the *δόξα τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Will he summon up courage to dare it?<sup>22</sup>

Closely linked to this eschatological crisis in the present is

Bultmann's identification of a polemic against the Jews in the Fourth Gospel. He identifies this polemic with a cosmic dualism in the Gospel. Those who are disciples of Jesus are not of this world, but the Jews represent this world and are Jesus' enemies. Bultmann has recognised a significant difference from the Synoptic Gospels in the expression 'the Jews' in the Fourth Gospel, but he includes this distinctive polemic within an all-embracing difference from the Synoptic Gospels, the Christianizing of the Gnostic myth.<sup>23</sup>

To sum up, R. Bultmann presupposes a pre-Christian Gnosticism behind the Fourth Gospel. His rigorous use of the source critical method and his copious references to secondary literature bring him to conclude that the closest parallels to the Fourth Gospel are in the Mandaean writings and the Odes of Solomon. Although he acknowledges that this pre-Christian Gnosticism can also be found in Philo, and in speculations within Apocalyptic Judaism, he maintains that the Fourth Gospel is more directly related to Mandaeism. On the one hand, R. Bultmann leaves open the question whether the Fourth Gospel stands in direct or indirect relation to Mark's Gospel, on the other hand, he detects a Gnostic source in the Fourth Gospel which belongs outside the Judeo-Christian tradition. Finally, R. Bultmann shows that the Fourth Gospel can only reveal to us how the Evangelist and his community understood their eschatological existence through the way they interpreted the events of the life of Jesus. The Fourth Gospel does not make available to us the reconstruction of the historical Jesus.

In contrast, C. H. Dodd argues that the Fourth Gospel is a

reliable source for the discovery of the historical Jesus. He presupposes a common oral tradition behind the four canonical Gospels and assumes that this oral tradition is historically reliable. He denies that the Fourth Evangelist used any of the Synoptic Gospels in their written form as a source for his own construction of the gospel story. According to C. H. Dodd the Fourth Gospel contains a reliable independent historical tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus.<sup>24</sup> In his first volume, which is a theological interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, C. H. Dodd wrote an appendix with the title *Some Considerations upon the Historical Aspect of the Fourth Gospel*. This appendix looks to his second volume a decade later where he argues for a reliable and independent historical tradition within the Fourth Gospel. In the appendix of the earlier volume he concludes,

I believe that the course which was taken by *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* ('The Quest of the Historical Jesus', according to the English title of the most important record of that 'Quest') during the nineteenth century proves that a severe concentration on the Synoptic record, to the exclusion of the Johannine contribution, leads to an impoverished, a one-sided, and finally an incredible view of the facts - I mean, of the facts, as part of history.<sup>25</sup>

In his *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963)

C. H. Dodd compares in detail the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptic Gospels. He begins with the trial and passion narratives where the frameworks of each Gospel most resemble each other. He then examines other comparable sections, for example; stories of healing; the feeding of the multitude; the witness of John the

Baptist; the call of the first disciples; and finally several isolated sayings.

This enables him to suggest the Johannine contribution in a reconstruction of a common oral tradition behind all four Gospels. According to C. H. Dodd this tradition included at least:

- (a) a fuller account of the ministry of John the Baptist;
- (b) explicit testimonies on the part of the Baptist;
- (c) an account of an early ministry of Jesus in southern Palestine;
- (d) healing miracles in both Galilee and the south;
- (e) topographical material including southern Palestine;
- (f) a climax in Jesus' Galilaean ministry leading to a messianic uprising;
- (g) a detailed account of the Passion, and of the immediately preceding events, with an emphasis upon the political implications; and
- (h) sayings; parables and dialogues; including predictions of Jesus' return which are preserved in a more primitive form in the Farewell Discourses in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>24</sup>

On the one hand, R. Bultmann criticised those *Religionsgeschichte* scholars who rejected the New Testament mythology when they should have interpreted it. On the other hand, C. H. Dodd criticised the same scholars, including R. Bultmann, who denied that the historical Jesus could be found in the Fourth Gospel and therefore denied that it contributed to the quest in the Synoptic Gospels. Dodd's second volume was an encouragement to those scholars, mainly on this side of the Channel, who adopted a new look at the relation between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic



Gospels, particularly to those who denied that the Fourth Gospel used any of the Synoptic Gospels in their written form.<sup>27</sup>

However, whilst the differences between R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd are great, there is also some common ground. For example, both consider that the Fourth Gospel is primarily a theological work, representing the end product in the theological interpretation of the earliest gospel tradition. Many scholars of the New Testament accept this view.<sup>28</sup> The main evidence for this line of argument is in the revelatory discourses and in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel as R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd both show.

According to C. H. Dodd the theological nature of the Fourth Gospel stands in contrast to the relative lack of theologizing in the Synoptic Gospels, but along side this major difference he maintains that there is a reliable historical tradition in the Fourth Gospel even in the revelatory discourses. R. Bultmann on the other hand sees all four Gospels as theological products of the early church.

C. H. Dodd appears to be listening to soundings from across the Channel when he writes,

It will have become clear that I regard the Fourth Gospel as being in its essential character a theological work, rather than a history. Nevertheless, the writer has chosen to set forth his theology under the literary form of a 'Gospel',... His aim, as I have said, is to set forth the knowledge of God contained in the Christian revelation. But this revelation is distinctively, and nowhere more clearly than in the Fourth Gospel, an historical revelation. It follows that it is important for the evangelist that what he narrates happened.<sup>29</sup>

The relation between theological interpretation and historical tradition as C. H. Dodd understands it, can be seen in his earlier book *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953). In the opening section he gives a summary of the religious backgrounds that could have influenced the Fourth Evangelist. After a brief introduction, putting the Gospel in its Christian setting, C. H. Dodd gives details of the Hermetic parallels to the Fourth Gospel. Next he looks at the parallels in Philo's writings, representing Hellenistic Judaism. After examining aspects within Rabbinic Judaism, which strike a chord with themes in the Fourth Gospel concerning the Torah; the Messiah; and the Name of God, he turns to the question of the parallels in Gnosticism and finally Mandaism.

Concerning the Gnosticism of Valentinus and of Basilides, C. H. Dodd accepts that they share a common religious background with the Fourth Gospel. They also share many of the ideas found in Philo and in the Hermetic writings. However, according to Dodd their cosmological interests set them apart from the

genuinely mystical piety which shines through Philo's extravagant allegories and the complicated metaphysics of the Hermetica.... The predominance of myth is characteristic of Gnosticism, in contrast to the Hermetica, where it is used sparingly, and usually transparently, and to Philo, where scriptural passages understood as allegories take the place of myth, and are constantly rationalised.

He concludes that whilst the Fourth Evangelist, like the Gnostics, sought a redemption through gnosis, Johannine Christianity was entirely different from "semi-Christian or near-Christian

Gnosticism".<sup>30</sup>

Concerning Mandaism, Dodd writes,

Alleged parallels drawn from this medieval body of literature have no value for the study of the Fourth Gospel unless they can be supported by earlier evidence.<sup>31</sup>

According to C. H. Dodd, the closest parallels to the Fourth Gospel are in the Hermetica and from Philo. He gives an impressive list of the parallels, but Dodd is predisposed towards them because of their mystical, albeit Hellenistic, piety and because the one is more nearly contemporary with the Gospel and the other represents a Hellenistic mystical tradition within Judaism. After summarising the various possible religious backgrounds to the Gospel, C. H. Dodd conducts a thematic study of theological ideas which the Fourth Gospel contains, for example; eternal life; knowledge of God; union with God; spirit; and the Christological titles. Concerning the Johannine Son of man, Dodd understands this figure to be closely related to the archetypal Man in the Hellenistic mystery religions, and to the Platonic idea of Man. This fits the understanding of the New Testament Son of man as a corporate figure, an interpretation accepted by many British scholars. Dodd finds further evidence for this in rabbinic interpretations of Gen.28:12 which the Evangelist alludes to in the first Son of man saying (Jn.1:51). This saying identifies the Son of man with ideal Israel according to Dodd.

Thus the term 'Son of Man' throughout the Gospel retains the sense of one who incorporates in Himself the people of God, or humanity in its ideal aspect.<sup>32</sup>

According to Dodd the expression Son of man in the later



apocalyptic writings within Judaism do<sup>es</sup> not provide an adequate parallel for the Johannine Son of man. This figure is the *ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινός* which Philo identifies with the *λόγος*. The term Logos only occurs in the Prologue and nowhere else in the Gospel because only in the Prologue does the Evangelist express a cosmology, but 'that aspect of the cosmical Logos which is specially related to mankind is the *ἄληθινός ἄνθρωπος*. Hence, according to C. H. Dodd, the Evangelist uses the term Son of man in the rest of the Gospel where he is wholly concerned with the mediation of God to mankind.<sup>33</sup> At this point I think we reach the heart of what Dodd is saying about the theological nature of the Fourth Gospel in comparison with the Synoptic Gospels. What we have in the Fourth Gospel is a kind of mysticism expressed in Platonic language concerning the problem of personality within the universal and the particular. Dodd admits that his understanding of the Johannine Son of man raises this problem.

It challenges the mind to discover a doctrine of personality, which will make conceivable this combination of the universal and the particular in a single person....A Christian philosophy starting from the Johannine doctrine of Jesus as Son of Man should be able to escape the impasse into which all ancient thought fell, and to give an account of personality in God and in ourselves.<sup>34</sup>

I think, as Dodd himself admits, that his understanding of Johannine realised eschatology is possibly a form of mysticism. He recognises, as R. Bultmann does, that a major difference between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel is the way in which the latter transforms the perspective of the futurist



eschatology into a fulfilment in the present. However, against Bultmann, Dodd insists that where the Fourth Gospel does refer to a futurist eschatology it is not to be seen as an oversight on the Evangelist's part, or as the work of a later editor. The universal Church can still look to the future fulfilment of history, but in the Johannine Son of man fulfilment has already taken place in the particular.<sup>33</sup>

To sum up; we have looked at some of the similarities between R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd concerning their studies on the Fourth Gospel: both see the Gospel as primarily a theological work, the end product in a developing theology within first century Christianity; both understand that the transformation of a futurist eschatology into a realised eschatology is a key element in the Johannine theological discourses which distinguish<sup>es</sup> the Gospel from the Synoptic Gospels; both look beyond the immediate Judeo-Christian religious background for the major influence upon this Johannine theology; and finally, both challenged the History of Religions School to make the Gospel meaningful and challenging in our present day.

This brings us back to where we started in our contrast between the presuppositions of R. Bultmann and of C. H. Dodd.<sup>34</sup> Both sought to answer the History of Religions School which failed to interpret the Gospel's mythology; on the one hand, R. Bultmann interpreted the Johannine theology in terms of the eschatol<sup>o</sup>gical event which the narrator experienced; on the other hand, C. H. Dodd interpreted the Johannine theology in terms of the Platonic idea of personality.

There are also important differences in the studies of these two scholars: on the one hand, R. Bultmann thinks that the Fourth Gospel cannot be taken into account as a source for the historical Jesus, on the other hand, C. H. Dodd thinks that it contains a reliable, independent historical tradition; on the one hand, R. Bultmann understands the realised eschatology in the Gospel as the consequence of decisive responses by an individual to critical events in history, on the other hand, C. H. Dodd understands the Johannine realised eschatology as a mystical incorporation into the body of Christ; and finally on the one hand, on the evidence of parallels in the Mandaean writings, R. Bultmann thinks there is a Pre-Christian Gnostic source behind the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, C. H. Dodd thinks the Hermetic writings show the closest parallels to the Gospel. In the light of these similarities and differences there are two key areas in the research on the Fourth Gospel subsequent to Bultmann and Dodd which are particularly significant for my thesis;

- ( i ) the question of the religious background of the Gospel;
- (ii) the question of the identification of the Evangelist's theology with a distinctive community or school.

The first area recognises the arguments that R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd held, showing the distinctive features in the Johannine theology, but instead of locating those features in a source outside the Judeo-Christian tradition subsequent developments in the study of Judaism of late antiquity suggest that some Gnostic features in the Fourth Gospel may have been influenced by traditions within Judaism. R. Bultmann pointed out the relation

between Gnosticism and apocalyptic Judaism but he assumed that apocalyptic Judaism was itself influenced by Gnosticism. Subsequent research suggests that aspects of apocalyptic Judaism influenced later Gnostic systems.

Another point which R. Bultmann saw more clearly than C. H. Dodd on this Gnostic issue is that the realised eschatology in the Fourth Gospel depended upon a crisis event as the means of salvation. Jesus as the Revealer brings salvation to man. Against Dodd, this salvation does not depend upon his humanity to make possible a mystical incorporation of the rest of humanity into the divinity. The Fourth Gospel describes a salvation by revelation depending upon objective knowledge and vision which demands a subjective decision from the individual who encounters this revelation. According to Bultmann this was the Christianizing of the Gnostic myth, from mysticism to eschatological event. As we shall see this reflects the understanding of vision in the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions within Judaism.

The second area in subsequent Johannine research reflects partly C. H. Dodd's argument for an oral tradition behind the Fourth Gospel and partly R. Bultmann's argument for sources in the Gospel reflecting stages in theological development. Several scholars have suggested from these arguments that there must have been a Johannine circle, or community, or school which preserved a distinctively Johannine form of Christianity. These two developments in New Testament research are central to my thesis on the Fourth Gospel and I will now outline them briefly.



(i) Attempts to explain the different religious background in the Fourth Gospel <sup>by means of</sup> ~~with~~ parallels from Hellenistic mysticism and Gnosticism have proved very helpful particularly in emphasising two key aspects in the Fourth Gospel's view of the world.

Firstly, there is a spatial dualism; Jesus descends from heaven like the Gnostic Redeemer to bring people the message of salvation; He sets before us light and darkness and then returns to his Father in heaven. Secondly, as Bultmann and Dodd both point out, this dualism in the Fourth Gospel is not antithetic. The claim that the Word became flesh is anti-Gnostic theology. Flesh and spirit are not opposed to each other. Bultmann understood the Fourth Evangelist to have Christianized a pre-Christian Gnostic System but he presupposes a one way movement from Gnosticism to apocalyptic Judaism and to Christianity. However, more recent studies on Judaism of late antiquity have tended to show that some features of Gnostic thought may have originated from Judaism, and that apocalyptic and mystical traditions within Judaism influenced the development of later Gnostic systems. This means that the Fourth Gospel itself may be a stage in the stream of thought from apocalypticism to Gnosticism. The Fourth Gospel may have influenced the Odes of Solomon and the Mandaean writings rather than the reverse. If this is the case the Fourth Gospel is not Christianizing Hellenistic mysticism or Gnosticism, but is interpreting Judaism in the light of the event of Jesus of Nazareth.

Since the middle of this century there have been important additions to our knowledge of Judaism of late antiquity. Each of



these additions suggests that Judaism of the first century C.E. was much less unified and much more Hellenized than had been previously understood. Divisions once thought to have existed have now become blurred, for example, the divisions between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism; and between Pharisaic and apocalyptic Judaism.<sup>37</sup> Modern detailed studies of Jewish sources have shown how difficult it is to separate Judaism from other contemporary religious movements. For example, apocalypticism used to be thought of as Jewish and Gnosticism as non-Jewish. We now recognise Gnostic tendencies within Judaism of the first century C.E. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has provided dramatic confirmation of this. We have come to understand that Gnosticism was much more pervasive in its early stages and that it was no more inimical to the eschatological community at Qumran than to apocalyptic Judaism generally. In fact it is possible that apocalyptic Judaism influenced later Gnostic systems through its concepts of knowledge and vision in relation to salvation.<sup>38</sup>

The significant point in relation to the religious background of the Fourth Gospel is that nearly all of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel are closely associated with the concepts of knowledge and vision as the means of salvation. In Jn.1:51 a vision of the Son of man is promised to individual believers. In Jn.3:13,14 salvation is a possibility for those who see and believe that Jesus is the Son of man who must be lifted up like the serpent in the wilderness for the Israelites to see (these sayings are also part of a discussion concerning the knowledge of earthly and heavenly things). In Jn.6:62 the vision of the

ascending Son of man is made possible to those disciples who eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man. The other two Son of man sayings in this chapter are closely connected with this vision as we shall see, for example, Jn.6:40 says "Every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on him, should have eternal life" and this verse serves the Evangelist's purpose of interpreting the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27. In Jn.8:28 Jesus explains that the Jews will have knowledge of the true nature of the Son of man when they have lifted him up. In Jn.9:35ff Jesus reveals to the man born blind that he is the Son of man and on seeing and believing in him the man born blind worships Jesus. In Jn.12:20,23 Jesus reveals that the moment for the glorification of the Son of man has come because "certain Greeks" wanted to see him. The vision of the glory of the Son of man lifted up is the means by which Jesus will "draw all men" to himself (Jn.12:32 and see v.41). In the two remaining Son of man sayings, Jn.5:27 and Jn.13:31, the association with a revelation through knowledge and vision is implicit, but not so immediately apparent as in the other sayings.

In short, because of our deeper and broader understanding of apocalyptic Judaism initially through our knowledge of the Dead Sea Scrolls and through the pioneering work of G. Scholem and others on the relation between apocalypticism and merkabah mysticism, there are good reasons for looking more closely at the relation of apocalyptic Judaism to the Fourth Gospel. Firstly, the comparison lies within the Judeo-Christian tradition. Secondly, the literary evidence available is more contemporary with the Fourth Gospel than either the Mandaean literature or the

Hermetic literature that Bultmann and Dodd used. Thirdly, the Fourth Evangelist includes Old Testament vision texts and terms that are familiar to apocalyptic visionaries and which are integral to his own explanation of salvation through revelation. Fourthly, and this is the heart of my thesis, the tensions and controversies within Judaism which surround the claim to a vision of the heavenly throne, are similar to the tensions and controversies that we find in the Son of man passages in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>39</sup>

The way has been opened, in the light of modern Jewish studies, to look for aspects within apocalyptic Judaism other than eschatology which may have a bearing on the historical and theological tensions within the Judeo-Christian tradition of the late first century C.E. The Son of man sayings are an obvious starting point for such a study: firstly, because in relation to apocalyptic Judaism the Fourth Gospel associates the Son of man figure with speculations surrounding the vision of the open heaven which is an important aspect of apocalyptic Judaism alongside eschatology; secondly because the Johannine Son of man sayings reflect the historical and theological tensions within Judaism surrounding mystical speculations from the late first century onwards, if not earlier.

It is interesting to note that both R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd acknowledged these speculations. R. Bultmann agreed with H. Odeberg that the saying concerning the ascent and descent of the Son of man in Jn.3:13 probably referred primarily to a dispute over claims to mystical ascents made by contemporary rabbis. On



Jn.3:13 Bultmann acknowledges the parallels in the Mandaean writings and in Hellenistic speculations but adds,

It is more likely, however, that it is directed against the various types of (visionary) heavenly journeys, which were commonly expounded in Jewish apocalyptic and in the speculation of Merkaba.<sup>40</sup>

C. H. Dodd suggested that the Johannine account of Jesus' claim to equality with God and the subsequent reaction of the Jews in Jn.5:17,18 probably reflected the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics.<sup>41</sup> These two issues mentioned by R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd are not unrelated. Both issues involve speculations concerning the throne vision and the figure of the Son of man. More recently, several scholars have suggested the relevance of these mystical speculations for individual passages in the Fourth Gospel, but no detailed thematic study of the Son of man has been undertaken which relates such speculations to the Gospel as a whole.<sup>42</sup> However, through the challenge presented by R. Bultmann's commentary on the Fourth Gospel, and through the renewed interest in apocalyptic Judaism, significant developments in our understanding of the background behind the Fourth Gospel have been made.

S. Schulz's thematic study on the Fourth Gospel calls for special attention here.<sup>43</sup> His concern for the way in which source and form-critical methods, applied to the Fourth Gospel, concentrated on smaller and smaller units within the Gospel encouraged him to apply a new thematic method to the Gospel. His aim was to identify themes within the small units of the tradition which could reveal a common historical cultural source. As things



*be seen to lie behind a*

stood several religious backgrounds could ~~attest for the~~ Johannine theology <sup>*because of*</sup> ~~interpreted in~~ the Evangelist's pervasive style.

S. Schulz, through his study of theme history (*Themageschichte*), hoped to get beyond the results of form criticism and find consistent themes within the small Christological statements. On the one hand R. Bultmann presupposed the existence of a Pre-Christian Gnosticism behind both the Fourth Gospel and apocalyptic Judaism, and then proceeded to find source parallels to confirm this. On the other hand S. Schulz presupposed certain themes had their origin in apocalyptic Judaism, and then proceeded to show their reinterpretation by Hellenistic Gnosticism. He analyses the constant motifs; the verbal identities; and the elements which distinguish particular sayings sharing the same theme. For example, Schulz considers the themes of "Son of man" and "Son". The "Son of man" theme is based on the relatively compact sayings in Jn. 1:51; 3:13-15; 5:27-29; 6:27, 53 and 13:31. His analysis of these sayings and of the 'Son' theme, suggest that the apocalyptic Son of man theme which originally belonged to the future was reinterpreted as the Hellenistic Gnostic Son of God which belonged to the present. The point of departure from the original apocalyptic theme of the Son of man can therefore be seen in such passages as Jn. 1:34, 50; 6:40; 8:35ff; 10:36, etc. Basically, S. Schulz assumes that apocalyptic Judaism is the original source of the Son of man theme in the Fourth Gospel and the points of reinterpretation in terms of Gnosticism can be detected. In this way Schulz sought to reverse Bultmann's argument for a Pre-Christian Gnostic source behind the

Fourth Gospel. However, I am not sure that Schulz's thesis holds because he has not attended to Bultmann's claim that themes within apocalyptic Judaism, for example the Son of man, were themselves dependent on a Pre-Christian Gnosticism. Perhaps, in the attempt to correct Bultmann's thesis S. Schulz has overstated his case to the point of an either/or argument. As I have already outlined, apocalyptic Judaism and Gnostic thought were more pervasive than S. Schulz allows because Gnostic traits can be found within that Jewish tradition. This suggests that some of the elements assumed<sup>m</sup> to be non-apocalyptic in the Fourth Gospel because they are Gnostic, in fact owe their presence in the Fourth Gospel to apocalyptic traditions within Judaism, in particular the Son of man sayings which are consistently related to the themes of knowledge and vision. The value of S. Schulz's argument is that he takes as his base line the Jewish apocalyptic tradition and he follows R. Bultmann and E. Käsemann in understanding the Johannine Son of man as an apocalyptic figure, the pre-existent heavenly being who descended to earth. S. Schulz agrees with R. Bultmann and E. Käsemann that there is no genuine theme of humiliation in the Fourth Gospel and no interest on the part of the Evangelist in the humanity of Jesus. The central theme is salvation by revelation through the pre-existent Son of man who reveals his heavenly glory.<sup>44</sup>

S. Schulz reverses Bultmann's thesis at the point where the latter claims there was a pre-Christian Gnosticism. Schulz's starting point is apocalyptic Judaism; Hellenistic and Gnostic influences are added to this *Mutterboden*. However, he agrees with

Bultmann that the Johannine Son of man is a heavenly revealer.

W. Meeks has also tried to reverse Bultmann's argument for a Pre-Gnostic source. He argues that Mosaic traditions of the prophet-king are the closest parallels to the Johannine Christology. His argument goes further than S. Schulz in explaining the conflicts surrounding the Johannine community. For example, he suggests that Jewish mystical traditions on the throne-theophany are the background for the polemical Son of man saying in Jn.3:13. He points out the traditions within rabbinic and Hellenistic Judaism which refer to Moses' ascent into heaven and to his royal throne in heaven. The Prologue reveals the same polemic, according to the Johannine community Jesus is the one who is the prophet like Moses who ascends into heaven. The dispute in the historical situation of the Johannine community, with the Jews, centres on the relation between Moses and Jesus, as the two parties in the conflict understand these two figures. W. Meek's understanding of Jn.3:13 is that the Evangelist claims not even Moses ascended into heaven. His thesis moves away from the idea that behind the Son of man figure lies the Gnostic Redeemer myth. The humanity of Jesus is now essential in the light of his relation to Moses, and as the ascended prophet-king. Jesus is therefore God's agent to whom Moses bore witness.<sup>45</sup>

According to W. Meeks, in the Fourth Gospel there is an emphasis on the functional aspect of Jesus' mission. The meaning of the cross is functional. It is the moment when Jesus is enthroned and glorified. J. Bühner's thesis also emphasises the functional aspect of Jesus' mission. Jesus is God's prophetic



agent who is pre-existent from a previous ascent into heaven in a way similar to Enoch in the apocalyptic tradition. Böhner makes more use of mystical traditions within apocalyptic Judaism for his understanding of the Johannine Christology.<sup>46</sup> This previous ascent of the Johannine Son of man enables Böhner to describe the prophetic throne vision in Isaiah 6 as a Christophany according to Jn.12:41. J. Böhner's study has done most to explain the Johannine Christology in terms of apocalyptic Judaism, recognising the significance of the speculations surrounding the throne-vision in that tradition.

Another study which concentrates on the Son of man theme in the Fourth Gospel is by F. J. Moloney *The Johannine Son of Man* (1975). Once more the emphasis is upon the functional aspect of Jesus as God's agent. Whereas Böhner moved away from the polarization of the cross as the moment of revelation of the 'glory' of the Son of man, F. J. Moloney's study follows the sweep of several recent studies on Johannine Christology which make this polarisation.<sup>47</sup> Moloney claims that there is no need to step beyond the Synoptic tradition to find the source of the Johannine Son of man sayings.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, the brief study of the Son of man theme by J. L. Martyn deserves special mention in relation to this thesis. His understanding of the Johannine Son of man relates the apocalyptic Son of man figure to the conflicts described in the Fourth Gospel which reflect the historical situation of the Johannine Community. To explain the levels of conflict he takes on board W. Meeks' thesis for a prophet-king Christology to show that according to



the Fourth Gospel this belief in Jesus was not acceptable to the Johannine Community. It was the beginning of belief in Jesus, but that belief must become, through the presence of the Paraclete within the community, a belief in Jesus as the heavenly Son of man. Hence the conflict with Judaism was no longer centred on the relation between Jesus and Moses, but on the claim that Jesus is worthy to be worshipped as a second God.

I find J. L. Martyn's typological study of the Gospel most helpful. This approach enables the reader to make sense of the Fourth Gospel as a whole. However, I am not sure that J. L. Martyn has really moved away from a polarization on the cross in interpreting Johannine Christology. Martyn refers to a decision dualism which is convincing in the light of its proximity to Bultmann's eschatologizing of the Gnostic myth which, in contrast to Dodd's understanding of realised eschatology, I think is more truly Johannine.<sup>49</sup> However, Martyn's decision dualism depends upon the presence of the Paraclete within the Johannine Community, and this can only come after Jesus' ascension into heaven. In my thesis I want to endorse Martyn's typological approach to the Gospel but make a shift in his interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. It is not that this decision dualism belongs only to the period of the Johannine community, it is that the Fourth Evangelist believes Jesus is always the one next to God whose home is in heaven, who came to Moses and the prophets, who came to many in the incarnation and who will come to all at the parousia. Therefore Moses and the prophets bore witness to the same vision as the Johannine community, and their witness demanded a decision

from their hearers with the same eschatological consequences.<sup>50</sup>

To sum up, in the past, too much attention was given to the role of eschatology within apocalyptic Judaism and this was a major reason behind the view that the Fourth Gospel filtered apocalyptic out of the gospel tradition according to the Synoptic Gospels. Modern studies in Judaism of late antiquity show that we can no longer discuss Jewish apocalypticism under the umbrella of eschatological speculation alone. Eschatology is only one aspect of apocalyptic Judaism.<sup>51</sup> Another very important aspect is the speculation about the divine throne and the figure seated on the throne in the vision of the open heaven. The features of the Fourth Gospel which caused R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd to pay little attention to apocalypticism (its "gnostic" traits and its "realised" eschatology), are now the very features that demand we pay special attention to apocalyptic Judaism and the vision of the open heaven.

(ii) Another point of departure from the studies of R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd is the question of Johannine Christianity. Both scholars refer to an individual author of the Fourth Gospel whose theology is the end product of first century Christianity. However, several scholars have more recently suggested development theories of the Gospel within a Johannine school, community, or circle. The influence behind such theories comes partly from the identification of different levels of theologizing associated with different sources and stages of editing in the Gospel. But, the claim that an oral tradition lay behind all four Gospels also encouraged the idea that there existed schools of thought among

various Christian communities.<sup>22</sup> Research into the rabbinic method of learning and of communication of traditions suggest the possibility that Christian communities preserved their teaching traditions in a similar way to the rabbinic communities.

I now want to outline the arguments of two scholars whose descriptions of a Johannine community are similar to my understanding of the historical situation which produced the Fourth Gospel as we have it. They are the arguments of J. L. Martyn and R. E. Brown.

(a) J. L. Martyn: *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 2nd edition (1979):

This is a typological study which claims that the Fourth Gospel must be read on two levels: the *einmalig* level, which tells us about Jesus; and the historical level, which tells us about the Johannine community. J. L. Martyn considers that three periods within the history of a single community can be identified in the Fourth Gospel. They are as follows:

(a) The Early Period: The teaching within this group was messianic and remained within the wider synagogue community. The Book of Signs, in briefer form, belonged to this period as proof of the messianic claims of Jesus.

(b) The Middle Period: from homilies on Jesus' messiahship to exegetical debate in the light of repeated questioning from other members of the synagogue who sought scriptural proof for the claims made for Jesus. This period represents a change in the relation of the group from being Christian Jews, to being separated out as Jewish Christians. For this separation J. L.



Martyn argues for the significance of the rewording of the Twelfth Benediction in the synagogue liturgy which synchronised with the dating of the synagogue ban against Christians and other heretics. At this stage some who hold a messianic belief in Jesus returned to the synagogue community and abandoned their association with Jesus' followers. This period saw trials and even executions of those who claimed Jesus was a second God (see Jn.5:18;10:33;16:2). Persecution by the synagogue community led to the sectarians' regarding themselves as the eschatological community with a two world view. According to J. L. Martyn this community now regarded Jesus as the Stranger who descended from the world above (Jn.3:31), and those who believe in him belong to the world above and are hated by this world (Jn.17:14,16).<sup>53</sup> Thus an eschatological interpretation is given to the Synagogue's division into those who are disciples of Moses and those who are disciples of Jesus. The Johannine community, however, regards its members as true Israelites and therefore as the true disciples of Moses, and proof of this comes from its distinctive interpretation of scripture.

(c) The Late Period: Relations are more complex now. On the one hand there is a division between Christians remaining in fellowship with the synagogue worshippers, and the Johannine Community. The Community struggles against other Christians whose messianic expectations enable them more easily to sit on the fence in the church-synagogue persecution that the Johannine community experiences. There is the risk of betrayal by those believers who leave the Johannine community in the face of this

persecution. On the other hand, there is a relation between the Johannine community and other Jewish Christians who were scattered as a result of the persecutions. According to J. L. Martyn these are the "other sheep" (Jn.10:16).

The influence of J. L. Martyn's work can be seen in my thesis. He deals with several of the same passages (Jn.3;5;7;9), and includes an examination of the Son of man sayings in his two-level perspective of the Gospel. However, I have already expressed my reservations concerning his understanding of the Johannine Son of man, here are my reservations concerning the details of his history of the Johannine community.

Firstly, Martyn identifies four groups, but I am not so sure that these groups can be so clearly defined in relation to the conflicts that are evident in the Fourth Gospel. On a more general level I see the Johannine community to be faced with disputes on two fronts. One is an internal Christian dispute with other communities whose belief in Jesus differs to the claims made by the Fourth Evangelist. The Synoptic Gospels broadly represent those other communities and the Fourth Gospel appears to be a correction to some of the traditions found within them. For example, according to the Fourth Gospel Jesus is more than a Davidic messiah, he is the heavenly messianic figure who descends to earth to reveal God to men. Linked with the understanding of this revelatory vision the Johannine community's witness to the vision of God in Jesus makes possible the salvation of the 'many' in Israel, by faith. Their salvation does not depend on esoteric teaching revealed to them and handed down through the emerging

sect. In contrast, the Synoptic Gospels suggest that salvation comes through knowledge of Jesus' teaching. See for example the Marcan interpretation of Jesus' teaching in parables (Mk.4:11). I think that Martyn's thesis can be developed more fruitfully by comparing the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptic Gospels on these issues.

The other dispute is an external one between the Johannine community and the Jews of the Synagogue. This dispute concerns the same issues, but <sup>is</sup> viewed differently by the Jews. Martyn is right, I think, in claiming that the hostility of the Jews resulted from their understanding that the Johannine community worshipped a second god. The aim of my thesis is to explain, more than Martyn has attempted so far, how such a belief developed within the Johannine Community, and also to examine the nature of the arguments from both sides in this dispute. Here, the throne vision, an aspect of apocalyptic Judaism other than eschatology, is most significant.

Secondly, the belief in a salvation by revelation as interpreted by the Johannine community, means that salvation is made possible to those whom the Jewish authorities consider to be ignorant of the law.

The Johannine emphasis upon knowledge and vision does not depend on esoteric knowledge by an elite who alone are capable of communicating the salvific teaching. Instead the believers simply proclaim their belief in Jesus as the vision of God to men and those who believe their witness and enter the eschatol<sup>o</sup>gical community themselves receive the revelation.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the



Pharisees who are the leaders within Judaism at this time are the holders of an esoteric tradition, and they have authority over the many in Israel as teachers of this tradition. They alone are able to interpret the law of Moses to the people. The Johannine understanding of salvation by revelation therefore undermines the authority of these religious leaders within Judaism.<sup>55</sup>

I think therefore that the dispute between church and synagogue in the context of the Johannine community arises from two issues that are related, the heretical teaching that Jesus is the vision of God worthy to be worshipped, and the claim that this enables the many in Israel, and even Gentiles, to know a salvation by revelation, no longer depending upon the official interpretation within Judaism of the Law of Moses.

Finally, I am not so sure about the significance for the Fourth Gospel of the alteration of the Twelfth Benediction against the heretics which possibly included Christians. It may be that this liturgical revision was the end product of a heresy-hunt which had been in existence from an earlier period. I follow the consensus that the Johannine community and the Fourth Gospel belong to the late first century C.E. This date is convenient for several of the suggestions I make in this thesis, but an earlier date is possible. Therefore, in contrast to J. L. Martyn, I do not see the Twelfth Benediction as decisive for the timing of the synagogue ban to which the Fourth Gospel refers (Jn.9:22;12:42; 16:2). I now want to turn to R. E. Brown's understanding of the development of the Johannine community.

(b) R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (1979)

R. E. Brown claims nothing more than a probability for the suggestions he makes. Whilst indebted to J. L. Martyn's thesis he shares some of the reservations that I have already pointed out. His own answers to the problems are at certain points similar to mine.

R. E. Brown suggests four phases in the development of the Johannine community's theology. The phases include the Johannine Epistles in the assessment of the community's development. The first two phases concern the pre-Gospel and the Gospel periods. The last two phases concern the period of the writing of the Epistles and the period which followed. R. E. Brown detects more groups than Martyn. He suggests seven different groups. I will not list them all, but simply point out certain arguments in R. E. Brown's construction of the history of the Johannine community that I find particularly helpful.

There are three arguments, all concerned with R. E. Brown's pre-Gospel phase. In this phase he identifies the disciples of Jesus in Jn.1 with the Samaritans in Jn.4, and with Jews who held distinctively anti-temple views. I am not sure that R. E. Brown is correct in putting so much emphasis upon a temple dispute. In the Fourth Gospel it seems to me that this dispute is <sup>lessened</sup> ~~relegated~~ in importance in contrast to other issues. Instead, I argue that the disciples of Jesus are mainly from the ranks of the am ha aretz, including Galilaeans, who only go up to Jerusalem at special festivals, whom the temple authorities regard as sinners and ignorant of the law of Moses. In the historical situation of the community this highlights a clash of authority between the

Johannine community and the synagogue leaders.

One other argument particularly significant for my understanding of the Johannine Son of man sayings is the suggestion which Brown takes up from D. Moody Smith who sees in J. L. Martyn's thesis the suggestion that the higher Christology in the Fourth Gospel connects this particular form of Jewish Christianity with less orthodox forms of Jewish life and thought. R. E. Brown follows up this idea by linking the Community's theology with Samaritan teaching, and also with the Hellenists in Acts 7 who have a similar disregard for the Jerusalem temple.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, and closely connected with the above two arguments, R. E. Brown draws attention to the Fourth Gospel's interpretation of Isa.6:10 and its position at the conclusion of Jesus' signs. He points out the significance of the mention of the Greeks in Jn.12:20-23 as the symbolic coming of the Gentiles, then comments on the use of the testimonium from Isa.6:10.

The localization of this passage at the end of the public ministry in John may be an indication that, when the Johannine community was expelled from the synagogue (see Jn.12:42), it then interpreted the entrance of the Gentiles into the Community (which had already occurred) as a sign that there was no future proclamation of Jesus among "the Jews" who controlled the synagogues and had rejected him.<sup>57</sup>

I agree with R. E. Brown on the importance of this testimonium in the Fourth Gospel in relation to the signs of Jesus and to the Son of man saying and also to the reference to the synagogue ban. However, I do not think that this exhausts the significance of the saying. The Evangelist justifies his interpretation of the



prophet's judgment upon the Jews by giving a distinctive interpretation of Isaiah's throne vision. This is closely connected to the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the Son of man and is related to apocalyptic and mystical traditions within Judaism. This is another indication that the Johannine community's high Christology is connected with less orthodox teaching within Judaism. Without necessarily connecting this interpretative tradition with Samaritan theology or Galilaean folk-beliefs, the Fourth Gospel does suggest that many of those who belong to the Johannine community were either Samaritans, or Galilaean or Gentiles; those whom the 'Jews' in the Fourth Gospel rejected as ignorant of the law of Moses.

According to R. E. Brown internal divisions within the Johannine community itself developed only in the last two phases. Some who accepted an even higher Christology were in danger of docetism! The Johannine Epistles were written to counter this tendency. Brown argues that the Fourth Gospel owes its acceptance within the canon to these Epistles which, coming from the same community, reaffirmed Christ in the flesh.<sup>58</sup>

The Fourth Gospel is, I think, anti-docetic and does not present an angel-Christology. However, our Evangelist seems fearless in his use of apocalyptic and mystical traditions within Judaism in order to explore what it means to be a true Israelite in the light of a belief in Jesus as the Word be<sup>o</sup>came flesh. Either the writer of the First Epistle of John misunderstood the Fourth Gospel<sup>so</sup> that he felt the need to counter it; or he understood the intention of the Evangelist so well that he sought

to defend and preserve its teaching by confirming to other Christians that it was possible and necessary to treasure the message of the Gospel and insist that the Son of God came in the flesh (see I Jn.1:1-3 and compare Jn.1:14;19:35;20:31;21:24).

Now we will turn to the wide field of study on the Son of man problem and see it in relation to the Johannine Son of man sayings. It will be necessary to discuss the arguments of other scholars who have something to say about the Johannine Son of man. I have not discussed them yet because I want to show how their studies relate to the studies on the Synoptic Son of man sayings.

## 3 : STUDIES ON THE SON OF MAN

There are two basic arguments in my understanding of the Johannine Son of man figure. Firstly, in the Fourth Gospel the expression "the Son of man" <sup>suggests</sup> ~~has in mind~~ the figure of "one like unto a son of man" described in Dan.7:13.<sup>59</sup> Secondly, according to the Fourth Gospel this figure is a heavenly being. However, the Johannine Son of man is part of a sayings tradition that appears in all four Gospels and from the many studies on these sayings, particularly more recently, there is no certainty either that the expression "the Son of man" in the Gospels is influenced by Dan.7:13, or that the expression refers to an angelic being. Attempts in the past to see the Son of man sayings tradition as dependent upon Dan.7:13 and as signifying a pre-existent heavenly figure or an exalted messianic figure, relied upon the recognition of the expression "the Son of man" as a title of an eschatological figure within Judaism. On linguistic grounds it is now very difficult to accept that the expression is a title.

The expression *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* makes awkward reading in Greek, and <sup>the awkwardness</sup> suggests that behind it there is a Semitic phrase. The Hebrew phrase *אֲנִי אֲדָרָא* occurs many times in Ezekiel to refer to the prophet who is a messenger of God to his fellow men. The phrase is used in the collective sense of mankind in general in Ps.8:4. Similar phrases in Aramaic; *ܐܢܝܢ* and *ܕܢܝܢ* could mean 'man'; 'as man'; or 'someone' and therefore could be used in either a determinate or indeterminate sense. G. Vermes has suggested that Jesus could have used the Aramaic phrase to refer to himself, but never as a title because the Aramaic evidence of the phrase



outside of the New Testament never implies a title.<sup>40</sup> On the use of the phrase in Dan.7:13 G. Vermes writes:

At the risk of being repetitive, it must be made clear once and for all that in the mind of the author of Daniel 7, 'one like a son of man' is not an individual. Furthermore, as a collective term employed in the setting of descriptive narrative, it is not conducive to circumlocutional use. Nor does it entail, or even suggest, a titular style applicable to a single person.<sup>41</sup>

In the light of the linguistic evidence we cannot assume a connection between the uses of the phrase "the Son of man" in the New Testament, and the Danielic figure of "one like unto a son of man". Only in those Son of man sayings in the Gospel which in the immediate context express other features in common with the Danielic vision can we possibly suggest an allusion to the Son of man figure in that vision. N. Perrin argues that whilst there is no title behind the phrase "the Son of man" in the New Testament, what we do have is an allusion to the image of "one like unto a son of man" that we find in Dan.7:13. This exegetical approach comes to similar conclusions as G. Vermes where he discusses the Gospel sayings.<sup>42</sup> There is a recognition that Daniel 7 is the starting point for the eschatological development of the Son of man image.

The Son of man sayings in the Gospels now leave us with a gap between the teaching of Jesus and the teaching of the early church. It seems certain that Jesus used the Aramaic expression to refer to himself, but he never used it as a title. We cannot be sure that behind the awkward Greek term a title is meant. Nor can we be sure that the expression ~~has in mind~~ <sup>is meant to suggest</sup> the Danielic figure

in many instances. What we can be more sure of is that in certain contexts in the Gospels where other features recall the imagery in Daniel 7 together with the phrase 'the Son of man', then we have in that particular instance a development in the interpretation of Dan.7:13.<sup>43</sup>

A good example of such a development in the exegetical tradition of Daniel 7 is the Son of man saying in the 'Little Apocalypse' of Mk.13. G. Vermes writes,

The traditional portents are described, the darkening of the sun and the moon and the falling of the stars from the skies. Then the son of man will come with (or on) the clouds, invested with power and glory. The evangelist's intention is to affirm that after his earthly career, Jesus, like the figure of Daniel's vision, will be seen in all his Messianic heavenly prestige, conferred on him by God through his resurrection and ascension.<sup>44</sup>

Another example is in Jesus' reply to the high priest according to Mk.14:62. Jesus said,

Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.

Both of these passages from Mark's Gospel in which we have a direct allusion to Dan.7:13 occur also in the other two Synoptic Gospels (for Mk.13:26 see Mt.24:30; Lk.21:27 and for Mk.14:62 see Mt.26:64; Lk.22:69). At some stage in the development of the early church's Christology Jesus was associated with the Danielic Son of man figure. In the more recent thorough study of the influence of Daniel 7 on subsequent Judeo-Christian traditions, P. M. Casey has argued that Daniel 7 had much less influence upon the Son of man tradition in the Gospels than had previously been thought.<sup>45</sup>

If the early church incorporated the Danielic imagery into its Christological ideas, then most probably we are looking at interpretations of the figure of "one like unto a son of man" who appears in Daniel's vision. Indeed, the account in Daniel 7 itself gives a specific interpretation of the Son of man. According to the angelic interpreter the manlike figure represents "the saints of the Most High" who will be victorious over the four beasts who represent the four world empires, then the victorious saints will themselves have kingly rule. However, later interpretations of the Danielic figure do not exactly fit the interpretation in Daniel 7 itself.

The Similitudes of Enoch have been influenced by the manlike figure in Daniel 7. In this apocalyptic work the phrase Son of man is often preceded by the demonstrative "that Son of man" specifying the human figure in Dan.7:13. According to I Enoch 48:2 he is the Messiah whose name was fixed before creation, and according to I Enoch 71:14,17 this figure is identified with Enoch the visionary who ascended to heaven in order to receive visions, including the vision of the Danielic Son of man figure. In the Similitudes a distinctive interpretation of Dan.7:13 appears, independent of the interpretation in Dan.7 itself, which combines Dan.7:13 with Gen.5:24 to make Enoch the one whom God has chosen to execute judgment, reserved for a future time.

In contrast, whilst 4 Ezra 13 identifies the Messiah with the Danielic Son of man figure, he is described as "the Man from the sea" which suggests that he is not to be identified with any historic person. This figure has features which resemble



descriptions given in earlier chapters (4 Ezra 11,12) again based on Daniel 7. We therefore have evidence from two apocalyptic writings, much later than the Daniel Apocalypse, which show independent interpretations of the Danielic vision.

Both of these writings have their origin subsequent to the origin of the early church.<sup>66</sup>

The differences in the interpretative use of Dan.7 in the Similitudes of Enoch; 4 Ezra and the New Testament are sufficient to suggest that they show three independent developments of the interpretation of Dan.7:13. However, this leaves us with a complex problem to solve concerning the Son of man tradition in the Gospels. Whilst the association of an Aramaic expression used by Jesus was at a later stage connected by his followers with the same expression in Daniel 7, the term never became widely accepted by the early church. The lack of the use of the expression "the Son of man" as a Christological title outside the Gospels in the rest of the New Testament has given rise to several theories by scholars concerning the source of the Son of man tradition within the Gospels. I will outline three of them.

Firstly, one extreme is to attribute all the Son of man sayings to Jesus himself. The problem is that three types of Son of man saying can be distinguished among the Gospel sayings: some refer to the earthly activity of the Son of man (Mk.2:10,28; Lk.7:34; 9:58 etc.); some to the passion of the Son of man, his suffering, death and resurrection (Mk.8:31; 10:45; 14:21,41 etc.); and some to the parousia of the Son of man who will come as Judge of all the earth (Mk.8:38; 13:26; 14:62 etc.). M. D. Hooker claims

that there are authentic sayings of Jesus in all three categories. On the interpretation of Dan.7:17ff that the "one like unto a son of man" represents the "Saints of the Most High", M. D. Hooker argues that Jesus referred to himself as the Son of man who is the representative or symbol of the people of God. Using the concept of a corporate Son of man figure it is possible to combine all three categories in the Son of man sayings. As a man Jesus used the expression "Son of man" to refer to his present activity. As representative man, he is the second Adam, who, like the first Adam is given the authority of God on earth. This authority is rejected by men according to the passion sayings, but God will vindicate his agent as shown in the parousia sayings.<sup>67</sup>

Secondly, at the other extreme are those scholars who argue that none of the Son of man sayings in any of the three classifications can be seen to originate with Jesus. They are all inserted into the gospel tradition by the early church.<sup>68</sup> According to N. Perrin, the eschatological aspect of the Danielic Son of man figure was one of the earliest Christological developments in the church. He bases this view on his exegesis of Mk.13:26 where the older Christological text, Ps.110, is combined with Dan.7:13 and Zech.12:10ff in the development of an apocalyptic hope consequent upon the resurrection-ascension belief of the earliest Christians.<sup>69</sup>

Thirdly, there are those scholars who claim that only those sayings which refer to the coming judgment of the Son of man figure are authentic sayings of Jesus. The expression is recognised as a title, although Jesus did not apply it to himself

but to some future eschatological figure. Chief proponents of this view are G. Bornkamm and H. E. Tödt following R. Bultmann. They both point out Jesus' understanding of his own authority in relation to the judgment of the Son of man; those who reject Jesus' authority will be condemned by the Son of man at the Last Judgment. The recognition of this authority of Jesus by the post-Easter church made it easy to go one step further and identify Jesus with the Son of man figure.

Jesus had assigned to the Son of Man the function of being the eschatological guarantor of attachment to Jesus on earth. This function remained the distinguishing mark of the title when the post-Easter community identified Jesus with the Son of Man. The content of the community's Christological understanding was determined by Jesus' soteriological world. In spite of the conflict with the whole tradition, the community designated Jesus as the one who acts on earth with full authority by the name Son of Man because Jesus himself had correlated the guarantee of the Son of Man with his own earthly activity.<sup>70</sup>

To sum up, although we have a Son of man problem that still persists in being insoluble, there are some interesting developments at points where different methods of argument converge. For example, take G. Vermes' important argument that the term Son of man should never be considered as a title. Whilst this conclusion might, in the last analysis, prove to be too sweeping, it can draw our attention to the significance of independent interpretative traditions stemming from Daniel 7 and encourage us to distinguish clusters of Old Testament passages surrounding some of the Son of man sayings in the Gospels. For another example, if we accept the views like those of F. Hahn and



G. Bornkamm, we can explore in what ways the early church understood Jesus to have been given special authority from God, and how this related to the authority of the Son of man. Perhaps it is more significant, however, to ask why it was that although the earliest Palestinian believers readily identified Jesus with the apocalyptic Son of man, on the evidence of the New Testament outside the Gospels this title is manifestly absent?

So far I have referred to the Son, of man sayings in the Gospels as a whole, but in nearly all of the studies that I have mentioned the discussions have been centred on those sayings in the Synoptic Gospels only. The study of the Johannine Son of man sayings <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ seen as a separate problem because these sayings are considered either to be so different from the other Gospels, or so similar to them, that the Evangelist has merely conformed to a gospel tradition that he would prefer to ignore.

I wish to approach the study of the Johannine sayings in the light of the studies on the Synoptic sayings. We can sum up the position so far under three points:

- (1) The Son of man sayings in this Gospel show evidence of a more widely developed exegetical tradition which includes Dan.7:13 among several other Old Testament texts.
- (2) The Son of man sayings are central to arguments within the Gospel where the main issue is the authority of Jesus and the emerging believing community, in relation to the authority of Moses and the prophets within Judaism.
- (3) If the expression Son of man was understood by the earliest Palestinian community to be an eschatological title, then we

would expect some evidence of the continuation of its use as a title among a limited circle of the developing Judeo-Christian community. The tendency would be to continue to create new Son of man sayings perhaps having their origin among the prophets within this small circle of believers who continued to speak the words of Jesus Christ, the one who had left them, but who would return in the future to vindicate his followers.

We may assume, therefore, that the prophets of the early Church played a considerable part in the formation of the words concerning the Son of man. These prophets preached to the congregation the word of the crucified, the resurrected and the coming Lord, in the same way as the visionary in the revelation of John sees one "like a son of man" (i.12ff.), and receives from him the word which he is to delivery to the congregations.<sup>71</sup>

I began this thesis with the intention of concentrating on one verse in the Fourth Gospel, Jn.3:13. However, the deeper my researches took me into the significance of this very distinctive Son of man saying, the more compelling became the conclusion that this saying is part of the Johannine interpretation of the Synoptic passion sayings <sup>as</sup> ~~according to~~ <sup>shows</sup> Jn.3:14. Whatever I was discovering about the Fourth Gospel in Jn.3:13,14, close by was the familiar verse Jn.3:16, the gospel in a nutshell. It could be that the unusual feature of having two very distinct Son of man sayings in consecutive verses had something very particular to say about the gospel message according to the Fourth Evangelist.<sup>72</sup>

The argument can be formulated as follows: firstly, Jn.3:14 is a Synoptic type Son of man saying that the Fourth Evangelist has

reinterpreted, using an Old Testament passage, to point to a salvation by revelation with the emphasis upon seeing the Son of man; secondly, Jn.3:14 is also connected with Dan.7 and the apocalyptic throne visions in the light of Jn.3:13 and in the light of the vision of the open heaven promised to Nathanael in Jn.1:51. The Fourth Evangelist intends the reader to contrast the figures of Nathanael and Nicodemus in the light of the promise and denial in the Son of man sayings each receives from Jesus.

As B. Lindars points out, the connection between Jn.3:14 and the Synoptic passion-type Son of man sayings is an important one, because it provides a link between the Son of man tradition in the Synoptic Gospels, and the distinctive Johannine Son of man such as the saying in Jn.3:13 where "the context requires a specific personality".<sup>73</sup> However, B. Lindars argues that the expression "the Son of man" in the Fourth Gospel does not refer to an existing apocalyptic title. He sees a functional meaning <sup>in</sup> ~~to~~ the expression signifying that Jesus is the revealer. He concludes that,

The Son of Man in John is the agent of the revelation which is disclosed in the cross.<sup>74</sup>

According to B. Lindars this functional meaning for the expression "the Son of man" can only be derived from the Fourth Gospel itself, in comparison with the passion sayings tradition in the Synoptic Gospels. Therefore Jn.3:14 is the key to the Fourth Evangelist's Son of man.



There can be no doubt that he had a form of the passion prediction, which he exploited in his own unique way in 3.14. None of the other Son of Man sayings in John relate to any other Son of Man sayings known from the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover, it has transpired that 3.14 is fundamental to all the rest. It is the basis of John's use of the Son of Man in a functional way, as a sort of technical term. It thus becomes unnecessary to look for any other source for the sayings in John, because all relate to the one saying which is derived from the passion prediction.<sup>73</sup>

J. A. Bühner's thesis also stresses the functional aspect of the Johannine Son of man, but he does not give so much importance to the cross as the moment of revelation in the way that B. Lindars and F. J. Moloney do. J. A. Bühner understands the ascent-descent of the Son of man in Jn.3:13 to refer to a pre-existent ascent of the prophetic and angelic kind which can be found in rabbinic and apocalyptic traditions within Judaism.<sup>74</sup> On this understanding Jesus was the revealer in the past and continues to be the revealer, and the lifting up of the Son of man on the cross becomes one more revelation among others of the heavenly nature of Jesus consequent upon a previous ascent into heaven.

J. A. Bühner's thesis draws attention to aspects of apocalyptic Judaism other than eschatology which involved the figure of the Son of man. He recognises Daniel's vision as a throne-theopany similar to the throne-visions which served to commission the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah in Ezek.1 and Isa.6. There are several links between Daniel 7 and Ezek 1:1ff., for example J. Bowman points out that,

The throne of the Ancient of Days (Dan.7:9-10) resembles that in Ezekiel in having wheels, and in being afire (Dan.7:9;cf. Ezek.1:4) Ezekiel's divine throne-chariot comes in the cloud (Ezek.1:4); in Dan.7:13 'one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven'. Another point of similarity is the four beasts (Dan.7:3;cf.Ezek.1:5). There is no resemblance in function between Ezekiel's or Daniel's beasts, but in both there is the antithesis between man and beast (cf.Ps.8).<sup>77</sup>

According to Ezek.1:26 a figure in human form appears above the throne, and in Ezek.8 the same figure appears to Ezekiel away from the throne as the prophet's interpreter. This figure appears again in Dan.10 (and compare Dan.8:5).<sup>78</sup> Another connection between Ezek.1 and Dan.7 appears in later apocalyptic throne visions. In particular, in I Enoch 14 there is a description of the throne vision dependent on Ezek.1 and Isa.6, but the Son of man passage in Enoch 70,71 is also modelled on I Enoch 14.<sup>79</sup>

There is a further connection between Dan.7 and the prophetic throne visions in the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics. According to Jn.5:18 the Jews persecute Jesus because he makes himself equal with God. Jesus' reply has features in it that resemble the kind of argument that the rabbis refuted to defend their monotheistic faith. A recurring feature in the refutation of those who claim that there are two powers in heaven is the denial that Exodus theophanies at the Red Sea and at Sinai point to two powers not one. When this argument is made there follows an interpretation of Dan.7 to explain that the plural 'thrones' in Daniel's vision does not signify more than one God. The heretics probably used Dan.7 as proof of the two powers because in that heavenly vision the Ancient of Days is not alone,

"one like unto a son of man" is with him, suggesting two powers, one old the other young as in the Exodus narratives according to the heretics.<sup>80</sup>

When we turn our attention to the interpretation of the throne visions of the prophets and in particular the throne vision of Daniel 7, we find other ways of connecting the Son of man tradition in the Gospels with the Daniel Apocalypse. In the light of this, we cannot limit our understanding of the Son of man sayings, as B. Lindars does by regarding them as wholly deriving from the Synoptic sayings. It is possible that those sayings in our Gospel, other than Jn.3:14, are different from the Synoptic sayings because they draw upon other interpretative traditions using a different cluster of Old Testament passages including Dan.7. We should note also that the one saying that B. Lindars considers is central for our understanding of the Johannine interpretation of the Synoptic sayings includes an allusion to a scripture passage which is not found in the Synoptic Gospels. The Evangelist compares the lifting up of the Son of man to the lifting up of the brazen serpent before the Israelites (see Nu.21:9). Similarly, in Jn.1:51 there is an allusion to Jacob's vision at Bethel (see Gen.28:12). This suggests that the Fourth Evangelist has a different cluster of Old Testament passages which he connects with the figure of the Son of man and this may well point to other interpretative traditions associated with Old Testament visions which may have influenced the Fourth Gospel's reinterpretation of the Son of man gospel tradition. In the light of what I have pointed out so far concerning the throne vision and



the Son of man figure we should pay closer attention to those scholars who have argued for the significance of apocalyptic and mystic traditions within Judaism for the description of the vision of the open heaven in Jn.1:51; the exclusive claim to the ascent-descent of the Son of man in Jn.3:13; and the interpretation of Isaiah's throne vision in Jn.12:41.<sup>81</sup>

M. Black accepts the connection between Ezek.1 and Dan.7 and acknowledges the conclusion of A. Feuillet that:

This, in effect, means that Dan.7 knows of two divinities, the Head of days and the Son of Man.<sup>82</sup>

He then goes on to suggest that since Dan.7:17ff indentifies the Son of man with the Saints of the Most High, the Son of man signifies the deification of the righteous remnant. However, Dan.7 offers only one interpretation of the throne vision which is in that chapter. Other interpretations are possible, for example, I Enoch.14 and 70,71. In the rabbinic refutations of the "two powers" heretics Dan.7 is a key passage which is used to assert the monotheism of Judaism, but this suggests that there was a rival interpretation of Dan.7 used by the heretics. It is possible that such interpretations of Dan.7 within Judaism, which indicated the pre-existence of the "one like unto a son of man" similar to the human form in Ezek.1:26, had some influence upon the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>83</sup>

To sum up, from our look at the Son of man problem there are two significant bearings for the Johannine Son of man sayings. Firstly, those like R. Bultmann, G. Bornkamm and H. E. Tödt, who see the Son of man as an apocalyptic title, which the early church

attributed to Jesus, cannot explain adequately why this title does not occur outside the Gospels (excepting Acts 7:56). Secondly, if the title was applied to Jesus by the early church we would expect to find evidence from at least a small community of Christians, of new Son of man sayings emerging. In the light of the Christological hymns in the New Testament, as evidence of the earliest titles given to Jesus which signify his pre-existence, we might expect these innovative Son of man sayings to occur in the context of worship. Recently one scholar, at least, has pointed out that there is nowhere in the New Testament a confession of faith in the Son of man.<sup>84</sup> However, in Jn.9:35 there is just such a confession of faith, and in Jn.6 the Son of man sayings are in the context of the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. It can also be argued that the sayings in Jn.3:13,14 arise from a demand by Jesus that Nicodemus must be baptized (Jn.3:3,5).

In the historical situation of the Johannine Community the use of the term Son of man, as a title for Jesus and as a confession of faith in him, might explain the hostility of the Jews against those who believed Jesus to be "equal with God".<sup>85</sup> The strange ~~absence~~ <sup>absence the phrase</sup> of "the Son of man" in the early church is a phenomenon that does not fit the Johannine community so well, according to the Fourth Gospel. Perhaps our Evangelist was aware of an aspect within apocalyptic Judaism, other than eschatology, which involved speculations concerning the figure in human form seated on the divine throne. This may have encouraged our Evangelist to reinterpret the gospel tradition in the light of interpretative traditions within Judaism, concerning the vision of the open

heaven. In this way he could explore and explain what it meant to be a true Israelite and believe that, in Jesus, the Word became flesh.



#### 4 : OUTLINE OF ARGUMENT

My approach in this thesis is a typological study of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel, paying particular attention to their context within the Fourth Gospel; to their context within the four canonical Gospels; and to their context within the Judeo-Christian tradition. There are only six chapters in the thesis because some of the Johannine Son of man sayings share the same immediate context within the Gospel (the two sayings in Jn.3 and the three sayings in Jn.6), and others have similar features (Jn.8:28;12:23;13:31) where the allusion to Jesus' death on the cross is made explicit). The remaining chapters are given to individual Son of man sayings.

I have divided this study into two parts to bring into relief a certain structure that seems to lie behind the way the Fourth Evangelist has made use of his Son of man sayings. In the first three chapters argue I that the Evangelist includes the Son of man figure in his distinctive interpretations of Old Testament passages which are already the cause of exegetical disputes within Judaism. My argument hinges on the development of those two areas within Judaism which R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd regard as having some relevance to passages in Jn.3 and Jn.5, namely the dispute concerning mystical ascents into heaven, and the dispute concerning the "two powers" heretics. I seek to show how these two areas of dispute within Judaism are related to the Johannine understanding of the vision of the Son of man.

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus addressed each of these

Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51;3:13,14 and 5:27 to three distinct kinds of people: to Nathanael and other Galilaean disciples he promised the vision of the open heaven: to Nicodemus, a sympathetic Pharisee and ruler of the Jews, he said that eternal life was possible for those who saw the Son of man lifted up and who believed in him; and to the Jews his enemies (the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem), he warned that God had given the Son of man all authority to execute judgment. Here are three stages of belief and unbelief. In Jn.1 Nathanael represents the true believer who recognises Jesus to be the Son of God according to the testimony of John the Baptist. Jesus therefore calls him "an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile". He is the true descendant of Jacob who will receive visions like Jacob.

In Jn.3, Nicodemus represents those who can say of Jesus,

We know that thou art a teacher come from  
God: for no man can do these signs that  
thou doest except God be with him.  
(Jn.3:2)

However, in contrast to the Galilaean disciple whom Jesus called a true Israelite, Jesus called Nicodemus "the teacher of Israel" in a way that could only be ironic. He is a Pharisee and a ruler of the Jews but he does not believe Jesus to be the Son of God. Therefore, he does not understand Jesus' teaching and the promise of the heavenly vision cannot be given to him as it was given to Jesus' Galilaean disciples. Instead he is given only the possibility of eternal life if, like the true Israelites in the wilderness who believed when they looked up at the serpent lifted up, he, like any other, looks up in faith at the Son of man lifted

up on the cross.

In Jn.5 the Jews represent the religious leaders in Jerusalem who do not believe in Jesus and who are his ~~hostile~~ enemies. Their interpretation of the law of Moses causes them to see Jesus as a blasphemer who leads the common people astray. According to Jn.5 Jesus tells them that they do not interpret the scriptures correctly and he warns them by interpreting Daniel's throne vision to them in which the authority to judge is given to "one like unto a son of man".

By paying particular attention to the context of the Fourth Gospel for our understanding of the Son of man sayings in Chapters 1, 3 and 5, we are able to recognise the dramatic form in which the sayings appear. For example, Nathanael and Nicodemus are dramatic figures who have representative roles which are deliberately contrasted. Both figures are distinct from the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem who seek to kill Jesus, and they *relate differently to* each ~~(stand in a different relation from)~~ these Jews. I seek to show that the inter-relation of these three audiences is important for our understanding of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel. The kinds of information we can gain from this typological study, as J. L. Martyn has shown, are several. For example, the claims that Jesus is the one who descended from heaven, who is the vision of God to men, and who has the authority as Son of man to judge, are claims which challenge the authority of the religious leaders in Jerusalem (Jn.1:51;3:13;5:27 and see Jn.5:17,18). Those who, like Nicodemus, recognise that Jesus is a man of God (Jn.3:2;7:31;12:42), are under pressure from the



religious authorities not to confess their belief in him (Jn.7:52;12:42). If Nicodemus confessed his belief in Jesus, then that respectable Jew who studied the law of Moses would be classed as a Galilaean; be counted as accursed and without knowledge of the Torah (Jn.7:47-52); and be banned from the synagogue (Jn.9:22;12:42). The religious authorities saw themselves as the true Israelites and true disciples of Moses (Jn.3:10;5:45;8:33;8:28), but according to the Fourth Gospel those disciples of Jesus who recognise him as the heavenly Son of man are the true Israelites and the true disciples of Moses (Jn.1:47-51;6:62;9:35 and see 9:28).

This is the point at which my study differs most from J. L. Martyn's. I use two other significant contexts in order to test the validity of the information collated from the Fourth Gospel which is relevant to the theme of the Son of man sayings; those contexts are the Synoptic tradition and the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

Concerning the Synoptic tradition, comparable events, issues and themes in all four versions of the gospel story, particularly in relation to the Son of man sayings, may help to confirm or to contradict the pattern emerging from my selection of information in the Fourth Gospel surrounding the Son of man theme. For example, the Fourth Gospel's interpretation of the testimonium from Isaiah 6:10 in contrast to the Synoptic Gospels' interpretation confirms the Johannine emphasis upon the revelation of Jesus' glory through his signs. The Synoptic Gospels interpret this testimonium differently in order to explain the difficulty of

understanding Jesus' parables.<sup>86</sup> This piece of information fits the information that we have concerning the Johannine Son of man theme which emphasises the vision that the Son of man brings. In Jn.1:51 Jesus promised Nathanael and the other disciples the vision of the Son of man; in Jn.6:62 Jesus refers to the vision of the Son of man ascending back to heaven; in Jn.12:23, in response to the request by the Greeks to see Jesus, Jesus said that the time had come for the Son of man to be glorified because in this way he would draw all men to himself (Jn.12:23,32). The vision of the Son of man is implied in the request of the Greeks to see Jesus and in the method of the glorification of the Son of man through being lifted up on the cross (Jn.12:32,35,41 and see Jn.3:14).

Concerning the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, a comparison between the vision of the open heaven according to Jn.1:51 in relation to the Son of man theme throughout the Fourth Gospel, and the vision of the open heaven in apocalyptic Judaism, helps us to confirm or deny once more the information relevant to the Johannine Son of man theme gleaned from the context of the Fourth Gospel itself.

For example, we find that some of the Son of man sayings in this Gospel reflect an awareness of the throne visions of the apocalyptic visionaries.<sup>87</sup> Jn.1:51 describes the vision of the open heaven, and this is almost a stereotyped technical term to introduce an apocalyptic vision.<sup>88</sup> In Jn.3:13 the order of the verbs 'ascended-descended' is parallel to the apocalyptic visionaries' way of describing their heavenly journeys to the

throne vision. However, this Son of man saying appears to engage in a dispute with those apocalyptic visionaries who claim that it is possible for a human being to ascend into heaven. These two Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13 suggest that the Fourth Gospel includes the figure of the Son of man in his distinctive interpretation of the method by which the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven is revealed.

We can see how significant the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the open heaven is from the fact that the Fourth Gospel actually refers to Isaiah's throne-vision.<sup>89</sup> We can hardly attach too much importance to this reference in Jn.12:41 because this verse not only forms part of the Evangelist's summary conclusion to Jesus' public ministry, but also serves to explain the meaning of a very important testimonium in the gospel tradition.<sup>90</sup> As we have already noted, according to the Synoptic Gospels the testimonium from Isa.6:10 explains the esoteric nature of Jesus' teaching in parables, but the Fourth Gospel uses these words of prophetic judgment in order to explain the blindness of those Jews who are unable to see that Jesus' signs bear witness to his divine glory (Jn.12:38-40). The Evangelist justifies this interpretation of the testimonium with the comment:

These things said Isaiah, because he saw his  
glory; and he spake of him.  
(Jn.12:41)

The vision of "glory" refers most probably to the vision of the glory of the Son of man mentioned in Jn.12:23. This "glory" is also manifested through Jesus' signs (Jn.2:11). According to the Fourth Evangelist the glory of the Son of man is synonymous with



the glory of the Lord in Isaiah's vision. Therefore in the same summary conclusion the Evangelist describes Jesus as saying,

He that beholdeth me beholdeth him that  
sent me.

(Jn.12:45)

The three pieces of evidence in Jn.1:51;3:13 and 12:41 encourage me to look more closely at the relevance of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven for the understanding of the Johannine Son of man sayings in their relation to the Synoptic Son of man sayings.

From these examples alone, taken from the contextual relation between the Johannine tradition, the Synoptic tradition, and the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, we can begin to see the complexity of the relation which I am suggesting existed between the Johannine community and other groups within the Judeo-Christian tradition. On the one hand, the Johannine community disputes with other Christian groups concerning Jesus' heavenly origin. On the other hand, the Johannine community disputes with the Jewish authorities concerning the interpretation of the vision of the open heaven. These two disputes are not always easily separable.

At the risk of oversimplifying, let me for a moment suggest that Nathanael represents the true believer within the Johannine community. Nicodemus might resemble those members of the community who believe Jesus is an earthly messiah sent from God, but who do not believe that he is a heavenly being who descends from heaven and who is worthy to be worshipped as the Son of man.<sup>71</sup> The Jews represent the hostile synagogue worshippers in the historical context of the Johannine community. There are

those within the community who are like the Judaisers in Paul's churches; they believe in Jesus as an earthly messianic figure, but they cannot accept that the son of Joseph descended from heaven. They fear the Jewish authorities who threaten to ban any member of the heretical sect from the synagogue worship and therefore some members leave the community. These backsliders then become a potential threat if they should betray those who remain in the community.

This is the kind of skeletal construction that we can make from a selection of the information surrounding the theme of the Son of man in the Fourth Gospel. We can add flesh to it through the comparison with the Synoptic tradition and through the comparison with the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

In my first three chapters I seek to identify the nature of the disputes surrounding the Johannine community in the light of the Fourth Gospel's interpretation of the gospel story; of passages of scripture; and of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven. Each of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51;3:13,14 and 5:27, allude to Old Testament passages which receive various disputed interpretations within Judaism. Here we can recognise a distinctive Johannine interpretative tradition involving the expression "son of man" in the Synoptic Gospels, and involving speculation about the one seated on the divine throne in apocalyptic literature. The identification of this interpretative tradition in the Fourth Gospel, together with the identification of the representative roles of Nathanael, Nicodemus and the Jews in Jn.1,3,5 pave the way for an understanding of most of the Son

of man sayings in the Gospel concerning the religious practice of the Johannine community and concerning the consequences of the community's belief in relation to other Christian groups and to the Jewish synagogue worshippers.

Chapter 1: In Jn.1:51 the Son of man saying is the climax of a catena of titles conferred upon Jesus because

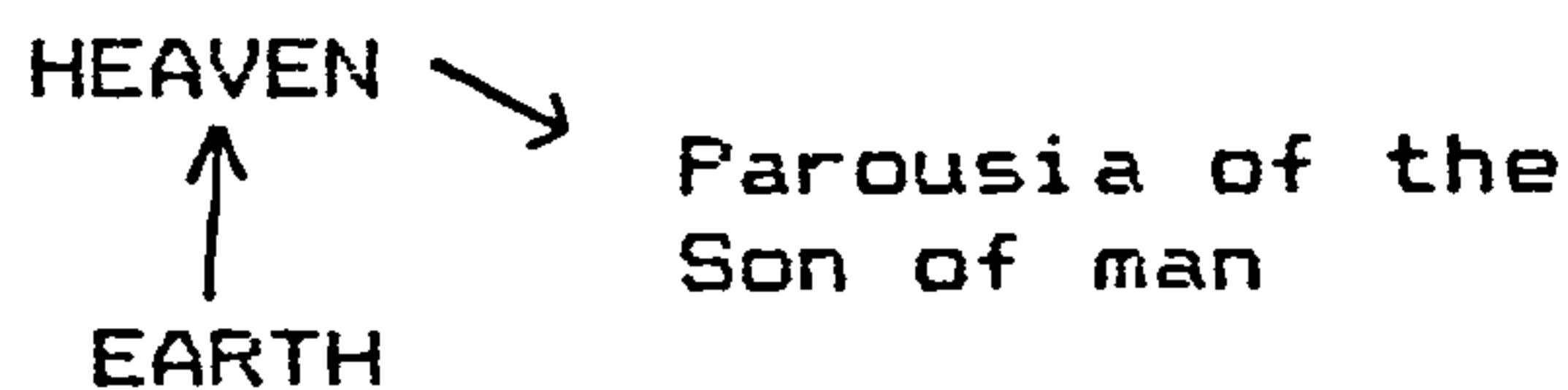
- a) the saying has the introductory formula *"Verily, verily, I say unto you";*
- b) the saying is Jesus' own testimony;
- c) the saying is a reponse to the revelation of the Son of God;
- d) the saying is addressed to Nathanael who appears in key narratives in the gospel story; and
- e) the saying interprets the conclusion of the prologue and the significance of the Johannine signs (Jn.1:18,50).

Having established that Nathanael is a central figure for this important Son of man saying in the discussion of how the vision of God comes to men, we turn to other traditions in the Judeo-Christian religion for the Johannine interpretation of the vision of God. The clue to these traditions is within the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51, in the description <sup>of</sup> the Son of man; the ascending-descending angels; and the open heaven.

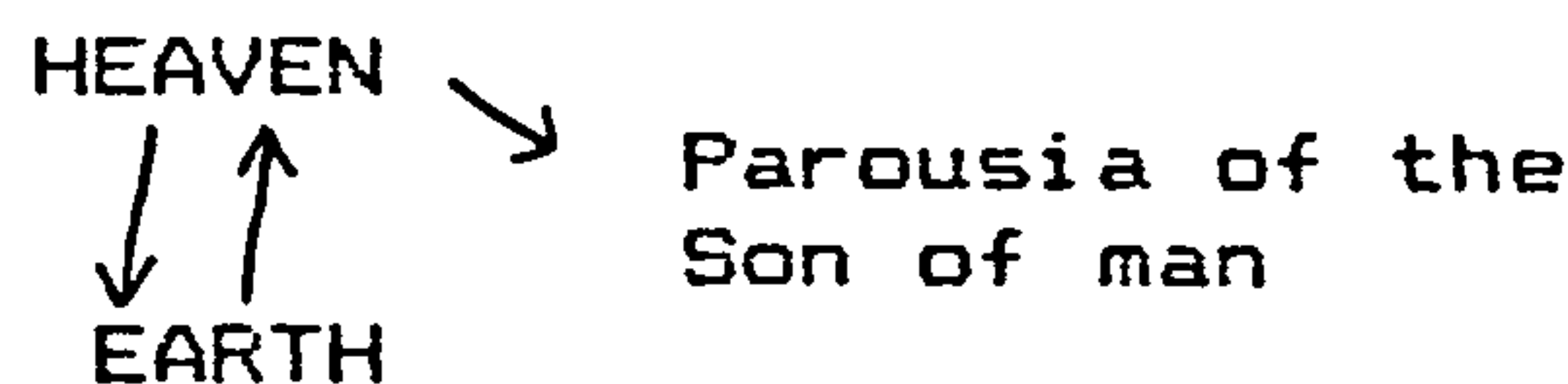
1 : The Vision of the Son of Man: If, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is the vision of God on earth, then a comparison with the Synoptic Gospels should show more than an exaltation Christology in the Fourth Gospel's Son of man sayings. We can test this suggestion if it can first be shown that the Fourth Evangelist was sufficiently aware of the Synoptic Son of man



sayings tradition ~~in order~~ to be in a position to interpret that tradition differently. The Synoptic tradition must be peeled off from the Johannine saying so that we can see to what extent, if any, the Johannine interpretation goes beyond the Synoptic Gospels' exaltation Christology. Put diagrammatically, we shall see that there is a gospel tradition which describes Jesus' movements, as the movements of the Son of man, like this:



but the Fourth Gospel describes the movements of Jesus the Son of man like this:



There are five reasons which suggest that the Fourth Gospel has knowledge of the Synoptic Son of man tradition:

- a) our gospel conforms to the pattern of having the expression "the Son of man" only on the lips of Jesus (but see Jn.12:34);
- b) the promise of a vision in Jn.1:51 resembles the promise of a vision of the Son of man described in Mk.14:62 (para);
- c) Jn.1:51 like Mk.14:62(para) is a response to the suggestion that Jesus is the Son of God;
- d) The Fourth Gospel is aware of the Synoptic interpretative tradition of Zech.12:10 in relation to Jesus;<sup>72</sup>
- e) There is a significant development in the relation between Jn.1:51 and Mk.14:62 in the light of a third description of

the vision of the Son of man in Acts 7:56. The similarities between the Synoptic vision and the vision in Acts point to the same belief in the exaltation to heaven of the man Jesus. The similarities and differences in Jn.1:51 suggest a shift towards the belief in the prior descent from heaven of Jesus who appears as a kind of angelic messenger. There is, in the Fourth Gospel, a shift away from the exaltation Christology towards what appears to <sup>be</sup> an angel Christology linked with the expression "the Son of man".<sup>93</sup>

There is further confirmation for this understanding of Jn.1:51 in the Johannine interpretation of Isa.6:1 in Jn.12:41, and in the trial in Jn.9 which describes a disciple, condemned by the Jews, who receives the revelation that Jesus is the Son of man and worships him. In the same context of a trial narrative, as in Mk.14:62 par. and Acts 7:56, the Son of man in Jn.9:35ff reverses the condemnation of the court on earth through the court in heaven.

To sum up, from the comparison between Jn.1:51 and the Synoptic Son of man tradition the probability is that the Johannine Son of man saying points beyond the kind of exaltation Christology interpreted elsewhere from the gospel tradition which was held by other Christian communities. We can now assess the points of change by comparing them with an interpretative tradition within Judaism. The fact that some of the evidence is later than the Fourth Gospel is not crucial. The evidence still shows to us at what points our Evangelist could be innovative and how plausible his innovations could appear even in the Jewish

context of a later period. The later Jewish evidence could even be a consequence of the kind of interpretations Christians, like our Evangelist, gave to certain scriptures.

2 : The Vision of the ascending-descending angels: The description of the movement of angels, together with the mention of the vision of the open heaven, enables a comparison between this Johannine Son of man saying and traditions outside the gospel tradition, within Judaism. If it can be shown that the description of the angels ascending and descending is an allusion to Jacob's Bethel vision, then we can compare other interpretations of Gen.28:12 within Judaism. This comparison may go further to confirm the tendency suggested from the comparison with the Synoptic tradition, that Jn.1:51 points beyond the kinds of exaltation Christology presented elsewhere in the New Testament for belief in Jesus.

Here are four reasons why the unusual description of the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man may allude to Jacob's Bethel vision:

- (a) the same order of movement for angels appears in Gen.28:12 and only there in the whole of the Old Testament;
- (b) the brief dialogue between Jesus and Nathanael anticipates an allusion to Jacob-Israel;
- (c) John the Baptist describes his ministry as a manifestation to Israel;
- (d) modern commentators agree that Jn.1:51 alludes to Jacob's vision at Bethel.

There is evidence in the Targums and in the rabbinic writings



of a dispute concerning the nature of the vision of God as an angelophany or a theophany. This dispute involves the interpretation of Jacob's vision at Bethel. From the various interpretations of Gen.28:12 within Judaism, it is possible that there was room enough for the distinctive Johannine interpretation. This interpretation identifies the vision of Yahweh or of an angelic messenger to Jacob, with the vision of the Son of man figure to Nathanael. In this way the Fourth Gospel could have made use of Jewish interpretative traditions concerning Jacob's vision at Bethel for the reinterpretation of the Son of man gospel tradition by identifying the role of Jesus, the Son of man, with the role of the heavenly messenger in the Old Testament visions. I give reasons (a), (b) and (c) above not so much as proof that there is an allusion to Gen.28:12 in Jn.1:51, this is generally accepted, but more because these reasons show why there is an allusion to Jacob's vision. The context of this Son of man saying in Jn.1 is all-important. This causes me to understand the Evangelist's interpretation of Gen.28:12 in a way that is different from most commentators. This includes those who, like me, recognise the importance of mystical traditions within Judaism for the understanding of the Fourth Gospel.<sup>74</sup>

### 3 : The Vision of the Open Heaven: From the context

in the Fourth Gospel, Jn.1:51 appears to be an interpretation of the vision of God in Jesus. The comparison with the Synoptic tradition concerning the Son of man sayings and the comparison with Jewish interpretative traditions concerning Jacob's vision encourage this view and suggest that the Fourth Gospel is aware of

disputes within Judaism concerning the nature and the mode of the vision of God. The question before us now is, does the Fourth Gospel merely insert the expression Son of man into his interpretation of Gen.28:12 in the light of the Synoptic tradition, in which Jesus refers to himself as the Son of man, or could this expression itself possibly reflect speculations within apocalyptic Judaism concerning the vision of God, with which the Fourth Gospel is familiar?

The clue to an answer is in the promise of a vision of the open heaven in Jn.1:51. Outside the Son of man tradition the description of the open heaven is almost a technical term in the New Testament to introduce visions given to individuals and this is particularly so within apocalyptic Judaism, for example: the visions in Rev.4; I Enoch 14 and Test.Levi.2. The significant feature in these three visions is that they all reflect a dependence upon the prophetic throne-visions in Ezek.1 and Isa.6 in the same way that the apocalyptic vision in Dan.7 does. Further, I Enoch 14 expresses a similar stand to Jn.1:18, that it is impossible for man to receive the vision of God; and Test.Levi alludes to Jacob's Bethel vision. The possibility needs to be explored that the mention of the "open heaven" in Jn.1:51 could reflect a knowledge of these kinds of Jewish apocalyptic visions based on Ezek.1 and Isa.6 such as we find in the New Testament Apocalypse (Rev.4). If so, then the expression "the Son of man" may refer specifically to the Danielic figure not because of the interpretation given in Dan.7:17ff., but because that vision also reflects the prophetic throne visions and the much later

apocalyptic throne visions in apocalyptic and mystical Judaism.<sup>75</sup>

The way is now open for us to examine the significance of the vision of the Son of man in Jn.1:51 outside the gospel tradition by showing the links between the figure above the divine throne in human form in Ezek.1:26 and the same figure who appears to Ezekiel away from the throne as an angelic messenger in Ezek.8 and 10. The figure appears again in Dan.10 and this passage has close links with the vision of "one like a son of man" in Dan.7 and Rev.1.<sup>76</sup>

To sum up, the use of the expression "the Son of man" in Jesus' promise of a vision of the open heaven to Nathanael may reflect the speculation within apocalyptic Judaism concerning Ezekiel's throne vision and the identity of the figure in human form above the throne. In this way the significance of the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 in relation to the conclusion of the Prologue in Jn.1:18 is maintained, and suggests that the Fourth Gospel takes sides in the dispute within Judaism concerning the nature of the vision of God. According to the Fourth Gospel this vision takes place on earth through Jesus who comes from the bosom of the Father.

In the chapter about the first Son of man saying in the Fourth Gospel I have set up the argument of my thesis. A briefer outline of my arguments for the rest of the Son of man sayings will now be sufficient to show that this Johannine interpretation of the vision of God is linked to the Son of man theme and to disputes between the Johannine community and other Christian communities as



well as to disputes between the Johannine community and Jewish communities.

Chapter 2: My study of the Son of man sayings in Jn.3:13,14 follow the same course as my previous chapter in order to develop what we found in Jn.1:51. Firstly, a detailed comparison between the representative roles of Nathanael and Nicodemus suggests that the Evangelist intends the reader to recognise them as contrasting types. This contrast is also reflected in the Son of man sayings each receives from Jesus. At the heart of this contrast is, on the one hand, the promise of the vision of the open heaven to Nathanael who accepts the witness of John the Baptist that Jesus is the Son of God, and on the other hand, the denial of an apocalyptic vision to Nicodemus which involves the ascent of the visionary into heaven. According to Jn.3 Jesus challenges Nicodemus to be baptized and believe that he is the Son of man who descends from heaven to bring the vision of the open heaven to man on earth and not in heaven.

The discussion of the relation between the roles of Nathanael and Nicodemus (1 : Nicodemus in the Fourth Gospel), suggests similar disputes between the Johannine community and the Jewish synagogue community to those that emerged from our study of Jn.1:51. Under the next section (2: The Ascent of the Son of Man), there is evidence in Jn.3:14 of the reinterpretation of the Synoptic passion sayings. Jn.3:14 implies that the moment of vision and the moment of Jesus' ascension back to heaven is when

he is lifted up on the cross. This reinterpretation of the passion-type Son of man sayings in the Synoptic Gospels is consistent with the Johannine reinterpretation of the Synoptic Parousia description of the Son of man in that the vision of the heavenly Son of man and the judgment of the heavenly Son of man is not consequent upon the linear division of the events of the death, resurrection and ascension of the man Jesus. This understanding of Jesus' passion is in other Johannine Son of man sayings (Jn.8:28;12:23 and 13:31) which are closely linked with Jn.3:14 and the Synoptic tradition.

Once more, the sayings in Jn.3:13,14 include an allusion to an Old Testament text (Nu.21:9) which is also part of a dispute within Judaism involving various interpretations as to what actually healed the Israelites in the wilderness in relation to what they saw. The distinctive interpretation of Nu.21:9 in Jn.3:14 suggests that the Fourth Evangelist was aware of this dispute within Judaism, and possibly aware of certain mystical interpretations of Nu.21:9. The interpretation in Jn.3:14 shows significant links with Jn.1:51, in relation to Nathanael the true Israelite whose faith brings him the promise of the vision of the open heaven, and in contrast to Nicodemus "the teacher of Israel". The latter is not a true Israelite because he is not baptized and according to John the Baptist's testimony, baptism makes manifest to Israel the Son of God (Jn.1:31,34).<sup>97</sup>

In the third section in chapter two of my thesis (3:The Heavenly Journey) I show that the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus reflects controversial issues within apocalyptic Judaism

surrounding the vision of the open heaven. They include the claim of the visionary's mystical ascent into heaven and the acquisition of knowledge of the heavenly world. The Fourth Gospel takes sides on these issues with points of view which are close to those described in contemporary apocalyptic writings.

Finally, to clinch my argument that the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and 3:13,14 reinterpret the Synoptic sayings away from an exalted Son of man figure towards a pre-existent heavenly being, I show the similarities between the dialogue in Jn.3 and the angelophany described in 4 Ezra 4. This suggests, in dramatic form, that Nathanael sees what Jacob saw, but that Nicodemus does not.

My understanding of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13 suggests that the Johannine interpretation of the vision of God presents a challenge to the authority of the religious leaders within Judaism whose dependence upon the law of Moses comes from a different understanding of the vision of God according to their interpretation of the Sinai theophany. There are hints of the threat felt by the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem in Jn.1. They sent delegations to John the Baptist specifically to ask by what authority he baptizes and this is an important contrast to the Synoptic accounts of the Baptist's ministry.<sup>98</sup> In Jn.3 Nicodemus is described as a ruler of the Jews and a Pharisee, and Jesus calls him the Teacher of Israel, but the dialogue in Jn.3, modelled on an angelophany shows in dramatic form the inability of the religious authorities to



interpret events in the world in terms of heavenly realities.

This leads us to the context of the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 where Jesus addresses the Jewish leaders precisely on the issue of his own authority, and upon the interpretation of scripture in relation to the Sinai theophany.

Chapter 3: At first glance the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 appears to contradict what I have been arguing, in relation to the Synoptic tradition, concerning the sayings in Jn.1:51 and 3:13,14. There I showed that the Fourth Gospel reinterprets the Synoptic parousia and passion sayings to make the vision of the Son of man a present reality similar to the throne visions of the biblical prophets and of the apocalyptic visionaries, whereas here in Jn.5:27-29 Jesus describes the future eschatological judgment of the Son of man figure. However, a study of the context of the Son of man saying in Jn.5; together with a study of the comparison between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic tradition concerning the sabbath controversy; and a study of the comparison between the argument of Jesus in Jn.5:19ff with the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics suggests that Jn.5:27 is a deliberate allusion to the throne-vision in Dan.7:13 to give scriptural proof that Jesus' authority is greater than that of Moses.

As we shall see, the Fourth Gospel does not express an antithesis between Moses and Jesus as rival claimants to the authority of God. In the Fourth Gospel Moses and the prophets, like John the Baptist, bear witness to Jesus' authority as the agent of God who descends from heaven to make possible the vision

of the open heaven to men. According to the Fourth Evangelist Moses saw the glory of the Son of man. Our Evangelist interprets the Sinai theophany in the same way that he interprets Jacob's vision at Bethel and Isaiah's throne vision in the temple.

The argument in chapter three of my thesis begins with an outline of the same pattern that we find in the other sayings already discussed to show that there are three links between each of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1,3 and 5. Firstly, each saying alludes to a controversial Old Testament text which the Evangelist interprets using the figure of the Son of man. Secondly, each of the sayings is part of a dispute concerning the vision of God related to Jesus signs. Thirdly, each of the sayings is addressed to distinct groups or representatives of groups which are in dispute with each other. In Jn.5 Jesus addresses the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem who are his hostile opponents. In each case, the representative groups reflect the internal and external disputes of the Johannine community with other Christian communities on the one hand, and with the synagogue authorities on the other hand. The content of the Son of man saying in Jn.5 gives us some insight into the details of the nature of the dispute between the Johannine community and the synagogue authorities, and explains to us why the opposition of these Jews was so hostile.

In the first section (1:The Jews in the Fourth Gospel) the disputes between Jesus and the Jews in our Gospel is explored in comparison with the disputes between Jesus and the religious authorities in the Synoptic Gospels. The Fourth Gospel introduces

the discourse in Jn.5 with a sign narrative which follows the synoptic pattern as a dispute over the sabbath question. However, the Fourth Evangelist shows explicitly that the real issue with the Jews concerned not the sabbath ~~issue~~ alone, but more particularly Jesus' claim to equality with God (Jn.5:17,18). In Jn.5:19ff Jesus defends this claim to the Jews, and this defence includes the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27.

In the light of the reinterpretation of the nature of the dispute in the Synoptic tradition (the sabbath question), we might expect the Son of man saying to reflect a similar change of emphasis away from the parousia of the Son of man towards a justification for the claim to equality with God and the authority to do the works of God on the Sabbath.

Under the next section (2:Dan.7:13 and Jn.5:27), I give reasons why the anarthrous Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 could be a deliberate allusion to Dan.7:13. My argument counters the recent thorough study of the interpretative traditions of Dan.7:13 by P. M. Casey.<sup>99</sup> Two points emerge: firstly, that the Son of man saying is primarily part of Jesus' defence of his claim to equality with God as the Son who has the authority to create life and to condemn to eternal judgment; and secondly that this Son of man saying alludes to Dan.7:13 as scriptural proof for the claim that Jesus makes for himself.

There is further support for this argument in the final section of this chapter which considers the similarity between the dispute in Jn.5:19ff and evidence of similar disputes within Judaism which involve the apocalyptic and mystical speculations



surrounding the throne-vision. In this section (3: The Rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics), I rely particularly upon the study by A. F. Segal who sees a link between the "two powers" heretics and the apocalyptic throne-visions.<sup>100</sup> First I seek to establish possible links between the disputes in the Fourth Gospel and the rabbinic disputes with the "two powers" heretics. Secondly, I give an outline of the rabbinic argument against the heretics followed by examples from early rabbinic passages in the Sifre and in the Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael. Based on the conflicting descriptions in the Exodus theophanies the heretics teach that God appears in two forms: as a young warrior at the Red Sea; and as an old man at Sinai. These two forms correspond to the two divine powers of judgment and mercy. As C. H. Dodd noted, there is a similarity here with the authority of the Son in Jn.5:19ff who is able to create life and to condemn to eternal judgment. Equally significant is the frequent reference to Daniel's throne-vision in Dan.7 in the rabbinic dispute against the heretics. The rabbis interpret the plural "thrones" in Dan.7:9 to show that there is only one authority in heaven. However, this is probably intended to counter the rival interpretation of the "two powers" heretics who see that there is, in Daniel's vision, a throne for an old man and a throne for a young man, according to the figures in the Exodus narratives.

There is no intention of identifying the Johannine community with the "two powers" heretics who are under attack from the rabbis. The rabbinic evidence is of a later period. The conflict and the interpretative traditions may well go back to a time that

is contemporary with the Fourth Gospel, especially in the light of connections between the "two powers" argument and the speculation surrounding the apocalyptic throne-vision.<sup>101</sup> However, I simply want to show that the argument put forward in Jn.5:19ff resembles the kind of argument we find in the early rabbinic writings. This is enough to suggest that the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 shows the same interpretative tradition as the sayings in Jn.1:51 and 3:13,14 which claim that Jesus is the vision of the open heaven on earth, because he is the Son of man who descends from heaven.

In these Son of man sayings the context in which they are found in the gospel, together with a comparison with the Synoptic tradition, and a comparison with the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, enable some tentative conclusions to be drawn: firstly, the Fourth Gospel gives a distinctive interpretation of the Son of man figure within the gospel tradition; secondly, this interpretation claims that John the Baptist and the disciples of Jesus saw what Moses and the prophets saw, the vision of God in Jesus the heavenly Son of man. Therefore, the Johannine community threatened the authority of the religious leaders within Judaism who claimed the priority of Moses' Sinai theophany over against the speculative throne-visions of the prophets. I cite passages from the Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael which show this.

Through the Johannine interpretation of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven the Johannine community was involved in disputes which caused tensions with other Christian communities as well as with the synagogue worshippers. We will see these

tensions between the different religious groups in the historical situation of the Johannine community in the study of the rest of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel.

Chapter 4: In this chapter I consider the three Son of man sayings in Jn.6 (1:The True Bread from Heaven Jn.6:27; 2:The True Worshippers Jn.6:53 and 3:The True Disciples Jn.6:62). The narrative and discourse in Jn.6, and particularly the Son of man sayings themselves, reflect the *Sitz im Leben* of the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. The sayings are all addressed to Galilaean Jews, but the last saying in Jn.6:62 specifically addresses the many disciples of Jesus in contrast to the twelve. Jesus challenges the many disciples because they murmur against his teaching on the same issue that causes the Jews in the synagogue to murmur against him. He challenges them with the possibility that they might see the Son of man ascending back to the Father.

Jesus presents this vision almost as a threat to those disciples who murmur at his claim that they must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man if they are to have eternal life and abide in him (Jn.6:52,53). He tells the many disciples that he knows some of them do not believe in him. The Evangelist links such disciples with Judas, the one who betrayed Jesus:

For Jesus knew from the beginning who they  
were that believed not, and who it was that  
should betray him.  
(Jn.6:64)

This comment by the Evangelist recalls the summary comment of



Jesus' reaction to the many who believed on his name through the many signs he performed at the passover in Jerusalem. The Evangelist told us then that "Jesus did not trust himself unto them" (Jn.2:24). In that summary, at an early stage in the gospel story, the Evangelist spelt out the difference between the true believer, Nathanael, whom Jesus did trust by calling him a true Israelite and by promising to him the vision of the open heaven; and those who like Nicodemus could not be trusted. It seems that the climax of the narrative and discourse in Jn.6, in which the three Son of man sayings carry a central theme, comes in the comment in Jn.6:66 that "many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him". According to our Evangelist Jesus then asked the twelve "Would ye also go away?" In the Johannine reinterpretation of the gospel tradition concerning Peter's confession we have in Jn.6 a description of believers and unbelievers within the Johannine community. In this description the believers are represented by "the twelve", following the gospel tradition, and the unbelievers within the community are represented by those present at the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

Attached to the Johannine account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand and of Jesus walking on the water, is a discourse on the manna tradition within Judaism. Thus in Jn.6 we have the familiar pattern of a reinterpretation of the gospel tradition (the feeding miracle, Jesus walking on the water; and Peter's Confession); and on the other hand, a reinterpretation of interpretative traditions within Judaism.

In the first section (1:The True Bread from Heaven), the

comparison with the Synoptic narratives suggests that our Evangelist is retelling the feeding miracle and its sequel to emphasise that the crowd of Galilaeans, who wanted to make Jesus their king, failed to understand that his kingship was not of this world. They did not believe he was the heavenly Son of man who could walk on the Sea.

These Galilaean followers are like those in the Johannine community, and in other Christian communities, who believed in an exaltation Christology which claimed that Jesus performed miracles as God's chosen messiah, a descendant of David, and that after his suffering, death and resurrection he ascended into heaven. However, the discourse in Jn.6:28-34 guides the reader through their misunderstandings concerning the teaching within Judaism which they applied to the person and work of Jesus. In this discourse Jesus explains that he is the true bread which descends from heaven. The Galilaean followers saw the sign of the Feeding of the Five Thousand as a repetition of the giving of the manna in the wilderness to the Israelites through the petitions of Moses. This repetition, according to the manna tradition, could also be seen as the celestial food of the messianic age; or, identified symbolically, the bread from heaven could be seen as the teaching of Torah in the Messianic Age when the Torah is to be understood by everyone (Jn.4:25). These interpretations do appear in the Synoptic Gospels, as well as in the rabbinic teaching, but the Fourth Gospel shows how such interpretations are mistaken.<sup>102</sup> According to the Fourth Evangelist it is because Jesus is the vision of God that he identifies himself as the true bread from

heaven. Eternal life is given to those who behold the Son and believe in him (Jn.6:40). This is the interpretation of the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27 concerning the meat which the Son of man gives. Jesus confronted those followers who sought to make him their king by addressing the Son of man saying to them as an interpretation of the Feeding miracle. In the discourse concerning the true bread which descends from heaven the Evangelist explains that the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27 spoke of the vision of the heavenly Son of man. The Evangelist gives a dramatic illustration of this interpretation in his reinterpretation of Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee. The Son of man saying was Jesus' answer to their question concerning how he arrived on the other side of the Sea. The Evangelist emphasises that they knew he did not cross over by boat. At the end of Jn.6, retelling the gospel account of Peter's Confession, our Evangelist contrasts the many disciples who believed Jesus was the messiah but who ceased from following him, with the twelve who believed Jesus was the Holy One of God, who had the words of eternal life. Only the twelve saw Jesus the Son of man walk on the Sea.

In the second section (2:The True Worshippers), the discourse with the Galilaean Jews continues in the synagogue at Capernaum. Here the *Sitz im Leben* of the worship of the Johannine community shines through. The Son of man sayings in Jn.6 are like a thread holding together the Johannine interpretations of the gospel tradition of the Feeding miracle; the Jewish manna tradition; and the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. According to



Jn.6:53 Jesus told the synagogue worshippers that they must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man in order to receive eternal life.<sup>103</sup> In the historical situation of the Johannine community, the sectarian worship is causing a division among the Jews and also among the believers. There appears to be a tension expressed in the movement of members to and from the synagogue worship and the sectarian worship. This is discussed in my third section (3:The True Disciples). There are those who murmur in both camps at the hard saying concerning eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man. In Jn.6:62 Jesus challenges those disciples who murmur by explicitly referring to the vision of the Son of man. This saying shows how the Johannine community performed its worship in the belief that it was the eschatological community worshipping in the presence of Jesus the heavenly Son of man.

The Evangelist uses the language of apocalyptic dualism; the Exodus account of the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness; and the gospel stories of Judas's betrayal and Peter's confession. In this way he shows who are the true disciples of Jesus and he shows the consequences of belief and unbelief in Jesus the Son of man, the one who first descends from heaven before he ascends back into heaven.

Chapter 5: According to the Fourth Gospel, the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 caused many Jews to believe in Jesus, but Jesus responded by challenging these believers to be true disciples. In the discourse which follows in Jn.8:31ff the Evangelist shows why

these believing Jews became gradually more hostile towards Jesus until finally they <sup>ied</sup>tried to stone him. They thought they could embrace a belief in Jesus which confirmed to them the freedom they believed they had as descendants of Abraham. According to Jn.8, Jesus told these Jews that their descent from Abraham was of no consequence if they did not abide in Jesus' word and know the truth as Abraham knew it (Jn.8:31,32,40,56). Only those believers who abide in Jesus' word are truly his disciples and, by implication, they are the true descendants of Abraham.

The relation between Jesus and these believing Jews grows more hostile. Jesus accuses them of being children of the devil who is a murderer and a liar. These Jews, in turn, accuse Jesus of being a Samaritan and one who is possessed by a demon. Finally, Jesus clinches his argument that they do not have anything in common with Abraham, except genealogy. He tells them that Abraham saw him and was glad, whereas they cannot see who Jesus really is and they are hostile towards him. These Jews had believed in Jesus but they did not believe that he was greater than Abraham. Jesus promised them that if they kept his word, they would never taste death. Their reply to him at this point gives some indication of their understanding of the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 which refers explicitly to Jesus' death on the cross at the hand of the Jews.

These Jews understood the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 in the way that the Synoptic Gospels express the passion-type Son of man sayings. They could accept an exaltation Christology which claimed that Jesus ascended into heaven as a result of his

righteous obedience to the Father's will. Such obedience could be interpreted as the sufferings of the Messiah or even as the sufferings of a righteous remnant such as we find in the interpretation of Daniel's vision of the "one like unto a son of man". The Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 is part of an argument in which Jesus stresses his obedience to the Father. However, when, at the very end of the discourse, Jesus tells these Jews "Verily, verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am", then they take up stones to throw at him. These Jews have moved from belief in Jesus to hostile unbelief. On the one hand the Son of man saying promoted faith in Jesus, on the other hand, his claim to pre-existence and to superiority to Abraham provoked their hostility towards him. They tried to stone him as a blasphemer.

Once more the historical situation of the Johannine community shines through this discourse in Jn.8. The believing Jews are like the Judaizers in Paul's churches. They can accept an exaltation Christology such as we find in the speeches of Peter according to Acts, and such as we find in the Synoptic Gospels, but they cannot accept the Christology of the Fourth Gospel which believes Jesus to be the pre-existent heavenly figure who appeared to Abraham and to Moses and to the prophets.

In this chapter I discuss the three Son of man sayings which are closely related to Jn.3:14, but concentrate on the saying in Jn.8:28 under three headings (1:The Jews who believe in Jesus; 2:What these Jews believe; 3:Why these Jews become Jesus' enemies). A comparison between the passion-type Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel (Jn.8:28;12:23 and 13:31) shows how



the Evangelist reinterprets the gospel story in a consistent way in order to show that salvation is made possible through the revelation of Jesus, the heavenly Son of man, and in order to show that this reinterpretation of the gospel tradition causes some members of the community to fall away and betray the true disciples.

A comparison between the Fourth Gospel and interpretative traditions within Judaism give a possible explanation why the Jews, who once believed in Jesus, became his enemies. In Jn.8 the expression *ἐγὼ εἶμι* occurs three times. It appears in the Son of man saying, at which point the Jews believed in Jesus. It appears again in Jn.8:58 at which point the Jews wanted to stone him for speaking blasphemously. This expression links the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 with Jesus' claim to pre-existence in Jn.8:58. The explanation for the turnabout in the belief of the Jews would seem to be that they misunderstood the Son of man saying, and in particular they misunderstood the identification Jesus had made between the expression "the Son of man" and the expression "I am". When, in Jn.8:58, they realised that the expression pointed to his pre-existence they accused him of blasphemy worthy of death by stoning.

Jesus had used the expression *ἐγὼ εἶμι* in Jn.8:24 before the Son of man saying. There the Evangelist explains that the Jews did not understand what Jesus was telling them concerning his Father, and concerning his departure to his home above (Jn.8:27). This prepares the reader for the Evangelist's description of the misunderstanding of the Son of man saying by the Jews which caused

them, for a time, to count themselves among the true disciples, as believers.

The "I am" expression recalls the phrase in Second Isaiah which is an assertion of Judaism's monotheistic religion. I seek to show the significance of this in relation to the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics. The rabbinic refutations include similar references to Second Isaiah and Deut.32:39 in order to counter the heretics who say there are two powers in heaven. Belief in Jesus as an earthly messianic figure, exalted to heaven through obedient suffering, would not bring suspicion of heresy of the "two powers" kind. The Evangelist's use of those passages from scripture which assert monotheism, in order to assert Jesus' pre-existence, could be seen as a heresy of the "two powers" kind.

Therefore the passion-type Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 receives the same interpretation as the similar saying in Jn.3:14. Jesus is the pre-existent Son of man figure. This interpretation causes many disciples to cease to follow Jesus. According to Jn.6, and Jn.8 it causes many believers to become the hostile opponents of the true disciples who continue to abide in Jesus' word and to participate in the eucharistic worship of the community. The argument in Jn.8:31ff explains why some members of the Johannine community fall away. They are Jews who, like the Judaizers in Paul's churches, still rely on their descent from Abraham to assure themselves that they are children of God. Jesus is thus an earthly messiah who fits into this plan for the children of Abraham, the Israelites. However, according to the

Fourth Gospel Jesus is the pre-existent one who appeared to Abraham as he did to Moses and to Isaiah. Such belief can only be kept in the face of persecution from the religious authorities within Judaism who claimed that such a belief was heretical. We can now turn to an outline of my final chapter which illustrates this interpretation of the historical situation of the Johannine community, and which serves as a conclusion to my thesis.

Chapter 6: This chapter is the conclusion *of* my thesis because it illustrates the two key arguments I have put forward. In the first three chapters in particular, I argued that the Fourth Evangelist reinterprets the Son of man gospel tradition in the light of the apocalyptic tradition of the vision of the open heaven. According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus is the heavenly Son of man figure who descends to earth to reveal God to men. In Jn.9 Jesus asks, from a man he has cured, for a confession of faith in him as the Son of man. Jesus reveals to the man that he is the Son of man, and the one Jesus cured worships him.

In the second part of my thesis I argue that our Evangelist retells the gospel story in the light of the conflict between the Johannine community and the synagogue community. This conflict caused many members to leave the sectarian community and even to become its enemies through betrayal. In Jn.9:13 the neighbours of the man Jesus cured bring him before the religious leaders. The leaders accuse him of being a disciple of Jesus and they ban him from the synagogue.

We are familiar with the stories in the Synoptic Gospels which



describe Jesus giving sight to a blind man. The narrative in Jn.9 follows the same pattern, but the Evangelist weaves into the narrative a major issue which distinguishes the teaching of the Johannine community from the teaching of the Pharisees. According to our Evangelist the vision of the open heaven is available to anyone who believes that Jesus is the Son of man who descends from heaven to reveal God to men. The Pharisees, in the Fourth Gospel, did not accept that the vision of the open heaven was possible to those they considered to be sinners, still less did they consider that Jesus, a sinner himself, was the one who revealed God to men. Put more succinctly, the issue in question centres on the relation between sin and blindness. Jesus healed a man who was born blind. Jesus told his disciples that the man's blindness was not the result of personal sin but was God's plan for Jesus to show that he had the power of God to heal him. The Pharisees interrogated the man concerning what happened and concerning his faith in Jesus. The man believed that Jesus was a man sent from God and a prophet. However, knowing that the man was previously blind the Pharisees called him a sinner, and knowing that Jesus healed on the sabbath they called him a sinner as well. They concluded that the man was a disciple of Jesus and, claiming that they were disciples of Moses, they banned the disciple of Jesus from the synagogue.

After Jesus revealed himself as the heavenly Son of man to the man he had cured from blindness, Jesus said,

For judgement came I into this world, that  
 they which see not may see; and that they  
 which see may become blind.  
 (Jn.9:39)

According to our Evangelist the Pharisees heard this and asked  
 Jesus if he was referring to them. Jesus answered,

If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but  
 now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth.  
 (Jn.9:41)

In the historical situation of the Johannine community, in  
 the face of persecution from the leaders of the synagogue the true  
 disciples of Jesus believe that the Jews are spiritually blind  
 because they do not believe that Jesus is the vision of God to  
 men. The Pharisees, who call themselves disciples of Moses, are  
 blind guides who restrict the possibility of revelations of the  
 heavenly world to those who study the law of Moses and keep the  
 commandments as they understood them. In contrast, the Johannine  
 community believed that the vision of the open heaven was  
 available to anyone who believed in Jesus, the heavenly,  
 pre-existent Son of man. Therefore many of those whom the  
 Pharisees consider to be sinners receive the vision of the  
 heavenly Son of man according to the Fourth Gospel, whereas the  
 Pharisees are condemned by the Son of man. This judicial  
 blinding, expressed in Jn.9:39, anticipates the Johannine  
 interpretation of Isaiah's prophetic judgment in the summary  
 conclusion to Jesus' public ministry. According to the Fourth  
 Gospel Isaiah saw what the disciples saw, the prophetic vision of  
 the Son of man.

## CHAPTER ONE

## JOHN 1:51 THE VISION OF THE SON OF MAN

καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,  
ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγόμενον καὶ τοὺς  
ἁγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ  
καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I  
say unto you, Ye shall see the heaven  
opened, and the angels of God ascending  
and descending upon the Son of man.<sup>1</sup>

In this verse there is a change of person from the singular (λέγει αὐτῷ), to the plural (λέγω ὑμῖν) which implies that, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus promised a vision to Nathanael in particular, and yet to the other disciples as well. These disciples include Andrew, Simon Peter, and Philip who have contributed to a catena of titles applied to Jesus in the opening chapter of the Fourth Gospel.

The names given to Jesus include: ὁ Λόγος (Jn 1:1); ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος (Jn. 1:27); ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (Jn. 1:29,36); ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (Jn 1:34,49); ὁ Μεσσίας (Jn 1:41); βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (Jn 1:49). Jesus is also referred to as: ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Jn 1:33); ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται (Jn 1:45); as well as being called Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ (Jn 1:45).<sup>2</sup>

There are several points that suggest to the reader that the Son of man saying, coming at the end of the many testimonies to



Jesus, serves as a climax of special importance and significance in relation to the catena of titles applied to Jesus in Jn.1.<sup>3</sup>

I am not suggesting that the expression "the Son of man" is the most important theological title in Jn.1, as though it is the highest title conferred on Jesus. What I argue here is that this Johannine Son of man saying, taken as whole, is a climax in Jn.1 because Jesus promises a revelation to his disciples in the form of a vision.

Firstly, the saying has the introductory formula

*ἀμὲν ἀμὲν λέγω ὑμῖν*

which is a Johannine characteristic. The Evangelist uses this formula in order to signify a climactic saying by Jesus.<sup>4</sup> This saying is a solemn pronouncement by Jesus addressed to Nathanael and to the other disciples.

Secondly, after the abundance of testimonies in Jn.1, Jesus finally bears witness concerning himself using the expression "the Son of man". This is not surprising in the light of the gospel tradition. The Johannine Son of man sayings resemble the Synoptic Son of man sayings in at least two respects: all four gospels agree that Jesus used the expression "the Son of man"; and all the gospels have this term exclusively on the lips of Jesus.<sup>5</sup> More significantly the Johannine Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 is the reader's introduction to Jesus' teaching. According to Mark's Gospel Jesus' opening words to his disciples were a call to join him in preaching repentance and the nearness of the Kingdom of God.

Now after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel. And passing along by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.

(Mk.1:14-17 and see Mt.4:12-19)⁴

The introduction of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is more leisurely. On a first reading Jesus' opening words seem insignificant and casual, but on closer examination they do seem to anticipate the promise of revelations which Jesus gives in the form of a solemn pronouncement in Jn.1:51. Initially two of John the Baptist's disciples follow Jesus and he asks them "What seek ye?" They want to know where he is staying and so Jesus says to them "Come, and ye shall see." Philip repeats this command to Nathanael, who is sceptical concerning Jesus. When Nathanael comes to Jesus, Jesus promises him that he will see "greater things" and he gives the solemn pronouncement to Nathanael and to the other disciples that they will see "the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (Jn.1:51 and see vv. 38,39,46). Sir Edwyn Hoskyns writes,

The historical scene of Jesus and His six original disciples is set not in the context of a mission to the world (contrast Mark i.17), but in the essential context of that which lies beyond observable history and experience. The apostolic mission beyond Israel to the world is secondary, for it has no meaning apart from what Jesus is and apart from what His disciples are in their relation to Him.⁷

Also C. H. Dodd writes,

Mark, after recording the designation of Jesus as Messiah, brings Him upon the scene in Galilee, and represents Him as making in His own person the announcement: 'The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is upon you.' Similarly John brings the chapter of testimony to a climax with an utterance of Jesus himself: 'I solemnly assure you: you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man'....As in Mark the whole narrative from this point falls under the rubric 'The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is upon you,' so in John the rest of the gospel is controlled by this revelation of the Son of Man.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly, there seems to be a significant relation between the testimony of John the Baptist and Nathanael. Both men call Jesus *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (Jn.1:34,49). A. Loisy writes,

l'évangéliste parlerait avec Nathanaël et pour lui, comme il lui est arrivé de parler avec et pour Jean-Baptiste.<sup>7</sup>

In each case their witness to Jesus as "the Son of God" is in response to a special revelation. Here is John's testimony of the revelation he was promised, according to our Evangelist;

And John, bare witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon him. And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God.  
(Jn.1:32-34)

In the case of Nathanael, Jesus first reveals to Nathanael his superhuman knowledge of him. Earlier, Philip had introduced Jesus to Nathanael with the words,



We have found him of whom Moses in the Law,  
and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth,  
the son of Joseph.  
(Jn.1:45)

Nathanael's initial reply was "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" (Jn.1:46). In this brief dialogue between Nathanael and Philip it is as though the Evangelist wished to stress the inadequacy of Philip's assessment of Jesus in contrast to Nathanael's testimony which recalled what John the Baptist believed through the revelation he received.<sup>10</sup> Nathanael's initial scepticism also heightens the revelatory nature of his first encounter with Jesus which prompted him to replace the description "son of Joseph" with "Son of God".

Nathanael answered him, Rabbi; thou art the  
Son of God; thou art King of Israel.  
(Jn.1:49)

Jesus commended Nathanael's belief in him, and promised that he would see "greater things" (Jn.1:50).<sup>11</sup>

A further significance in the relation between the revelations promised to John the Baptist and Nathanael lies in the possibility that the vision of the open heaven and of the angels descending on the Son of man may recall the baptismal vision of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels. There we have a description of the opening of the heavens-*ἦν ἐν ἧ θύρᾳ οἱ οὐρανοί* (Mt.3:16), Luke has the singular *τὸν οὐρανόν* (Lk.3:21, but compare Mk.1:10); and also a description of the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus-*πνεῦμα θεοῦ καταβαῖνον ὡς εἰς περιστέρην, ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν* (Mt.3:16 see also Mk.1:10; Lk.3:22 and compare Jn.1:32).<sup>12</sup>

Fourthly, the figure of Nathanael probably expresses some

special intention of the Evangelist because he does not appear in the Synoptic Gospels. He is not included among the twelve disciples listed in the Synoptic tradition, and yet our Evangelist is aware of the tradition concerning "the twelve" (see Jn.6:67,70, 71 and 20:24). Nathanael appears twice among small groups of Jesus' disciples who are mentioned by name. Both narratives are central to the gospel tradition: the call of the first disciples of Jesus; and the resurrection appearance of Jesus to the disciples. Whilst these narratives resemble the Synoptic accounts at several points, there are distinctive features in the Johannine accounts, not least the insertion of the figure of Nathanael.<sup>13</sup>

The importance and significance of the Johannine version of the call of the first disciples in Jn.1:35-51; and of the resurrection appearance of Jesus in Jn.21 is highlighted by the suggestion that Jn.1:51 and the whole of the last chapter do not belong to the original Gospel. It can be said that the promise to Nathanael that he will see "greater things" (Jn. 1:50), provides an adequate conclusion to his dialogue with Jesus. The change from the singular to the plural pronoun in Jn.1:51 also suggests that this verse was originally an independent saying.<sup>14</sup> Similarly at the close of Jn.20 there is an adequate conclusion to the whole of the Fourth Gospel (see Jn.20:30,31).<sup>15</sup> The substance and the linguistic style of a third resurrection appearance by Jesus this time in Galilee, suggests that Jn.21 is a later supplement to the Fourth Gospel by a different hand. However, there is no manuscript evidence for the omission of either Jn.1:51 or Jn.21, and I see my task to be to make sense of the Fourth Gospel as we

know it. I think that I am helped in this task through the recognition that there is a special significance ascribed to Nathanael in Jn.1 and Jn.21 concerning the promise and fulfilment of a vision. According to the Fourth Gospel, as we have it, Nathanael saw Jesus' signs and his resurrection appearance in Galilee. Both the signs and the resurrection appearances are included among the "greater things" that, according to Jn.1:50, Jesus promised Nathanael would see.<sup>14</sup>

This leads me to my fifth and final point. We have seen that after the promise of visions to Nathanael in Jn.1:50,51 we must wait until the very last chapter of the Gospel before we meet Nathanael again. This time we are given the additional detail that Nathanael came from "Cana in Galilee" (Jn.21:2). The Fourth Evangelist emphasises very strongly that Jesus performed his first sign in Cana of Galilee. Immediately following the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 the Evangelist continues,

And the third day there was a marriage in  
Cana of Galilee.  
(Jn.2:1)

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus performed his first sign at this wedding by turning water into wine (Jn.2:11). On another occasion when Jesus visited that town the Evangelist recalled his first sign there,

He came therefore again unto Cana of Galilee,  
where he made the water wine.  
(Jn.4:46)

On his visit to the town the Evangelist describes another sign that Jesus performed there (Jn.4:46-54). At the conclusion of this narrative there is another reference, though less overt, to



the first sign at the wedding in Cana (Jn.4:54).<sup>17</sup>

So far we can see that the additional information in Jn.21:2, concerning Nathanael's home town, is probably intended to associate Nathanael with the first sign in Cana of Galilee and with the resurrection appearance of Jesus in Galilee in order to show that this sign and this resurrection appearance are the fulfilment of Jesus' promise to Nathanael in Jn.1:50. After the first sign at Cana, the Evangelist points out the special significance of the sign for the disciples by informing the reader that Jesus "manifested (*ἐφάνερωσεν*) his glory; and his disciples believed on him" (Jn.2:11). Compare the introduction to the resurrection appearance in Jn.21:

After these things Jesus manifested  
(*ἐφάνερωσεν*) himself again to the  
disciples at the sea of Tiberias.  
(Jn.21:1)

To sum up, we have looked at five points which suggest that the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 has a special significance in relation to the many titles given to Jesus in the opening chapter of the Fourth Gospel: firstly the introductory formula stresses the importance of the saying; secondly, Jesus finally adds his own witness to emphasise the importance of the saying in Jn.1:51 in relation to the other testimonies; thirdly, Jesus addressed this Son of man saying to Nathanael in particular because he repeated the testimony of John the Baptist who, through a special revelation, called Jesus "the Son of God"; fourthly, the figure of Nathanael occurs only in the Fourth Gospel in key narratives; and finally, the saying holds a special place in the Gospel because it

interprets the promise in Jn.1:50.<sup>18</sup>

Each of these points emphasise the revelatory nature of Jesus' words and actions in the Fourth Gospel. The promise to Nathanael and the disciples implies that Jesus is the one who brings to them the vision of the open heaven. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus claims that, as the Son of God, he is the vision of God to men. He says, for example:

I and the Father are one.  
(Jn.10:30)

He that beholdeth me beholdeth him  
that sent me.  
(Jn.12:45)

He that hath seen me hath seen the  
Father.  
(Jn.14:9 and see Jn.15:24)<sup>19</sup>

The significance of the Johannine belief that Jesus is the Son of God is that Jesus communicates the vision of God to men. This understanding must be seen in the light of those polemical statements in the Fourth Gospel that no man has ever seen God except the Son of God. According to our Evangelist this was part of Jesus' teaching to the Jews in Jerusalem,

The Father which sent me, he hath borne witness  
of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at  
any time, nor seen his form.  
(Jn.5:37)

And to the Jews in the synagogue at Capernaum,

Not that any man hath seen the Father, save  
he which is from God, he hath seen the Father.  
(Jn.6:46)

The views expressed here are of central importance to the Fourth Gospel because they repeat, on the lips of Jesus, what is in the Prologue concerning the Logos, the Son of God.

And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father),...No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.<sup>20</sup>

(Jn.1:14,18)

If the dialogue between Jesus and Nathanael is significant for the Johannine understanding of the vision of God, then it is significant in connection with this passage from the Prologue. On the relation between Jn.1:14 and Jn.1:51 and their significance for the rest of the Gospel C. H. Dodd writes,

There is a far-reaching equivalence of the two propositions: 'The Logos became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory': and 'You will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.' Both of them contain in brief the substance of what the Evangelist is now about to relate.<sup>21</sup>

On the importance of Jn.1:45-51 in relation to the Prologue Sir Edwyn Hoskyns writes,

vv45-51 are important not only because they record the first beginnings of the faith of a particular disciple, but also because they introduce the true interpretation of the words of the prologue 'we saw his glory' (v.14) and of the twice repeated command 'come and see' (vv.39,46). Philip is still satisfied with the assertion that Jesus, the son of Joseph and the man from Nazareth, is the Christ who was foretold by Moses and by the prophets of Israel, foretold, that is to say, in the two complementary and authoritative parts of the Jewish scriptures. In the development of the gospel this is shown to be altogether inadequate, for the proper faith of the disciples must rest in their apprehension that Jesus, the Son of Man from Nazareth, is the Son of God from heaven (vi. 42,vii. 27sqq.41sqq). This is what Nathanael and the true disciples of Jesus 'will see' and this is His glory, which was first manifested in the miracle of Cana (ii.11)<sup>22</sup>



I think Sir Edwyn Hoskyns' understanding of the relation between the testimonies of Philip and Nathanael is correct, and that this sheds light on the stated intention of the Evangelist when he writes at the close,

These are written, that ye may believe  
that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.<sup>23</sup>  
(Jn.20:30)

I also think that he is right, up to a point, in his understanding of the relation between the promise of visions in Jn.1:50,51) and the vision of  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  in the Prologue (Jn.1:14). However, I would want to go on to say that the promise to Nathanael refers more particularly to the exclusive statement at the conclusion of the Prologue (Jn.1:18), because the Johannine understanding of the expression "the Son of man" in Jn.1:51 is of a heavenly figure associated with the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven. According to our Evangelist, the Son of man, no less than the Son of God, is the one who is from heaven (see Jn.3:13,6:62).

I now want to turn to the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 as an interpretation of the promise to Nathanael in v.50 that Jesus is the vision of God to men through his signs and through his death and resurrection. The several traditions we can discern in Jn.1:51, and the way in which the Fourth Evangelist handles these traditions, will explain how he arrives at an interpretation of the vision of God in Jesus. The clues to the traditions lie in the mention of the Son of man; the ascending-descending angels; and the open heaven. We must look at each of these descriptions.

## 1 : THE VISION OF THE SON OF MAN

An obvious starting point in our search for the traditions that possibly lie behind Jn.1:51 is the gospel tradition concerning the Son of man sayings. The Johannine Son of man saying shows an awareness of this tradition to the extent that, like the Synoptic Gospels, this expression is only used by Jesus.<sup>24</sup> Can we say more? Scholars are divided on this issue.<sup>25</sup> However, many agree that the saying in Jn.1:51 does resemble a Synoptic-type Son of man saying.<sup>26</sup>

According to Mt.26:64 and Mk.14:62 Jesus promised the vision of the Son of man to the high priest and to his accusers at his trial as a warning to them of their condemnation at the final judgment when the apocalyptic Son of man will appear. Jn.1:51, Mt. 26:64 and Mk.14:62 share the same verb *ὄψεσθε*, and also the singular noun *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*.<sup>27</sup> The saying in Mt.26:64 is introduced with the words *ἀπ' ἄρτι*, and the same expression prefixes the saying in Jn.1:51 according to some manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> This textual evidence indicates that Jn.1:51 was thought to be related to the vision of the Son of man in Mt.26:64.

There is, however, another significant similarity between Jn.1:51 and Mk.26:64 and Mk.14:62. In the brief dialogues that Jesus has with Nathanael and with the high priest, the Son of man saying is Jesus' response to the suggestion that he is the Son of God who is the expected Messiah. According to Mark the high priest asked, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" (Mk.14:61). According to Matthew the high priest demanded, "Tell

us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God" (Mt.26:63). In contrast, according to the Johannine trial narrative, when the high priest interrogated Jesus he did not mention the names Messiah or Son of God and Jesus did not mention the Son of man. It is therefore interesting to note that the Johannine Son of man saying which most resembles Mt.26:64 and Mk.14:62 is Jesus' response to Nathanael's affirmation: "Rabbi; thou art the Son of God: thou art King of Israel." (Jn.1:49). C. H. Dodd writes,

Twice in Mark, where Jesus has been addressed by others as 'Messiah', He replies substituting the term 'Son of Man' (viii.29-31, xiv.61-2). Similarly here, after the witnesses have heaped together traditional messianic titles, Jesus replies with this mysterious formula. John clearly intends to affirm the primitive tradition that it was the title 'Son of Man' that Jesus had used to denote His dignity, mission and destiny, and he makes Him utter it with all solemnity here at the close of the chapter of testimony.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that the quotation from Zech.12:10 in the Johannine narrative of the crucifixion reflects an awareness of a gospel tradition associating Dan.7:13 with Zech.12:10 in the parousia vision of the Son of man.

Two brief images are sufficient to recall Daniel's vision as a vivid picture of the parousia: the image of "one like unto a son of man"; and the image of "coming with the clouds of heaven". In Mk.14:62 and Mt.26:64 both images occur:

*ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου...  
ἐρχόμενον μετὰ (ἐπὶ) τῶν νεφελῶν  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*

Compare the Septuagint version of Dan.7:13



καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου  
ἐρχόμενος

The eschatological discourse in Mark 13 is a good illustration of the use of these images to describe the parousia vision:

But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory. And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

(Mk.13:24-27, see also Mt.24:30; Lk.21:27)

In other parts of the New Testament there are passages which identify the crucified Jesus with the Danielic Son of man figure who will come as Judge at the parousia. These passages need not mention the term Son of man but merely refer to his coming "with the clouds".

Behold, he cometh with the clouds; and every eye shall see (ὄψεται) him, and they which pierced (ἐξεκέντησαν) him; and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn (κόψονται) over him.  
(Rev.1:7)

This description alludes to Zech.12:10:

And they shall look (ἐπιβλέψονται) unto me whom they have pierced (κατώρχησαντο): and they shall mourn (κόψονται) for him.

In the parallel passage to Mk.13:24-27 that we find in Matthew's Gospel there is also an allusion to Zech.12:10. The Greek of Mt.24:30 reads

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τότε κόψονται  
 πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.

In Rev.1:7 and Mt.24:30 the testimonium from Zech.12:10 is linked with Dan.7:13 in a description of the parousia vision, but the Fourth Gospel states explicitly that the vision prophesied in Zech.12:10 finds fulfilment at the moment of Jesus' death.

καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει· ὄψονται  
 εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.

(Jn.19:37 see v.34)

As in Mt.24:30, the Greek here is closer to the version of Zech.12:10 in Rev.1:7 than to the Septuagint. In Rev.1:7 instead of ὄψεται codex Sinaiticus, together with some of the Syriac and the Bohairic versions and the tenth and twelfth century uncials 2351 and 1611 read ὄψονται even though the subject (ὀφθαλμός) is singular. This is probably influenced by the verb in the parallel chiastic line (κόψονται) to read,

καὶ ὄψονται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμός...  
 καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς

In any case Jn.19:37 and Mt.24:30 have ὄψονται when citing Zech.12:10 and the same verb is used in the visions of the Son of man in Jn.1:51; Mk.14:62 par. Acts 7:56 as well as in Rev.1:7. This suggests that the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 seen in the light of Jn.19:37 reflects an awareness of an interpretative

tradition linking Dan.7:13 with Zech.12:10.<sup>31</sup>

To sum up, Jn.1:51 has in common with Mt.26:64 and Mk.14:62 the promise of a vision of the Son of man by Jesus; some verbal similarities; a formal literary parallel in that, according to these Gospels, Jesus replied with a Son of man saying to the suggestion that he was the Son of God, the Messiah; and finally, possible evidence for a common tradition behind these Son of man visions in the light of Jn.19:37 and Rev.1:7.

However, there are three significant areas where the Johannine Son of man saying differs from the Synoptic saying. Firstly, there is no mention of the "clouds of heaven" of Dan.7:13. Secondly, the context has changed, not only because Jn.1:51 is right at the beginning of Jesus' ministry whereas Mk.14:62 (par.) is right at the end, but also because Jesus promises this vision of the Son of man to individual believers. Jn.1:51 describes the vision of the open heaven to Nathanael and the other disciples present, but Mk.14:62 (par.) describes the vision of the parousia judgment in condemnation of Jesus' enemies. This vision will be seen by all. Thirdly, and here I am arguing that Jn.1:51 serves to interpret Jn.1:50 referring to Jesus' signs, the timing for the fulfilment of the promise in the Johannine Son of man saying is much sooner than in Mt.14:62 and Mt.26:64.<sup>32</sup>

Each of these differences is met, in part, by another vision of the Son of man which has important links with the Synoptic Son of man saying in the trial narrative. Acts 7:55,56 describes a vision of the Son of man to an individual believer at the moment of his martyrdom, and like Jn.1:51, there is no reference to the



parousia image of the Son of man coming "with the clouds".

These similarities between Jn.1:51 and Acts 7:55,56 become more substantial because both passages describe the vision of the open heaven(s) ( ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγόμενον (Jn.1:51); ἰδοὺ θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς διηνογμένους (Acts 7:56)).<sup>33</sup> A.J.B. Higgins writes,

The mention of the heaven opened is reminiscent of Stephen's vision of the heavens opened, revealing the Son of man standing in the presence of God, and less directly of Mark 14:62, "You will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power."<sup>34</sup>

An important point to note here is the relation between the version of Mk.14:62 (par.) in Luke's Gospel and Acts 7:56 *when we* recognising<sup>e</sup> that the Book of Acts is the sequel to that Gospel. Unlike Mk.14:62 and Mt.26:64, according to Lk.22:69 Jesus did not promise the parousia vision of the Son of man in his reply to the high priest. According to Luke's Gospel Jesus simply claimed that from that moment ( ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ) the Son of man would be seated at the right hand of God. If we put the Synoptic sayings alongside each other we will be able to see that all three of them identify the Son of man with the Davidic Messiah of Psalm 110:1 in this way, but only Mark and Matthew embellish their sayings with the promise of the parousia vision in Daniel 7:13:

ἀπ' ἄρτι ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ  
ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

(Mt.26:69)

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς  
 δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.

(Lk.22:69)

καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως  
 καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

(Mk.14:62)

One explanation for the reason why Lk.22:69 omits any reference to the parousia vision could be that the writer is anticipating the description of the vision of the Son of man to Stephen in Acts 7:56. N. Perrin writes,

He has omitted the 'you will see' addressed to the High Priest, since the individual parousia is to be a Christian experience, and substitutes for it, 'from now on'; and he also omits the specific reference to the parousia in Mark 14:62, because he is preparing for Stephen's vision and the individual parousia.<sup>35</sup>

When we look at the vision in Acts 7:56 and its context we find that the writer of Luke-Acts has gone to considerable lengths in his adaptation of the Son of man saying in the Synoptic trial narrative. According to Acts 7:1 Stephen is on trial for his faith in Jesus. His speech was prompted by a question put to him by the high priest. The author intends the reader to draw a parallel between the trial and death of Jesus in Luke's Gospel, and the trial and death of Stephen here in Acts. Thus Stephen's last words as he is being stoned to death are an echo of Jesus'

words (see Acts 7:59,60 and compare Lk.23:34,46). The context of the trial before the high priest and the repetition of the words of Jesus from the dying Stephen suggest that the content of the description of the vision of the Son of man in Acts 7:56 would resemble Jesus' promise of the vision of the Son of man in the Synoptic trial narrative. Although the visionary is Stephen in Acts 7, and the vision is probably meant to reassure him in the hour of martyrdom, his description of the vision and his opening words carry with them the intention to condemn his accusers. This was also the intention behind Jesus' promise of the vision to his accusers in Mk.14:62.<sup>34</sup>

Here is the description of Stephen's vision:

He, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.

(Acts 7:55,56)

There are four points of similarity with Mk.14:62: firstly, the reference to "the Son of man" with the definite article (Acts 7:56 is the only occurrence in the New Testament, outside the gospels, of this phenomenon); secondly, the description of a vision of the Son of man; thirdly, the position of the Son of man (he is in heaven even though Acts 7:55 identifies this figure with Jesus); fourthly, there is an allusion to Ps.110:1 in the phrase *ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ* which occurs both in v.55 and in v.56.

This last point may be significant in comparison with Jn.1:51. We have seen that in respect of the visionary and the timing of the vision, Acts 7:56 stands closer to Jn.1:51 than to Mk.14:62



(par.) There is also the significant description of the open heaven(s) that they have in common. For both Jn.1:51 and Acts 7:56 this description may, in part, be a substitution for the description of the Son of man "coming in the clouds of heaven" in Mk.14:62 (par.) We can understand this substitution because Jn.1:51 and Acts 7:56 tell of visions coming prior to the actual parousia.<sup>37</sup>

We can also understand why Acts 7:56 includes an allusion to Psalm 110:1 along with Mk.14:62(par.) whereas Jn.1:51 does not, because the opening of the heavens to Stephen comes subsequent to Jesus' ascension and exaltation to heaven (see Acts 1:2-10), whereas the vision of the open heaven to Nathanael begins with the sign at Cana prior to Jesus' ascension.<sup>38</sup>

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus reveals the glory of God to man whilst he is on earth through his signs and through his death. This is the moment of the ascension and exaltation of the Son of man (Jn.3:13,14).<sup>39</sup> In contrast, the author of Acts identifies the ascended Jesus with the Son of man figure who is in heaven, and not on earth. Therefore, the important distinction between Acts 7:56 and Jn.1:51 is that Stephen's vision of the Son of man was only possible subsequent to the ascension of Jesus into heaven. According to Acts, Jesus will come as Judge at the parousia because through his ascent in a cloud he became the heavenly Son of man figure (see Acts 1:9).<sup>40</sup> The commentary in Acts 7:55 to Stephen's vision which he describes in v.56 serves to explain that first Jesus had to ascend to the glory of God before he could be revealed to an individual believer as the Son of man

who will descend in judgment at the parousia. Acts 7:55 tells us that in Stephen's vision of heaven he did not see Jesus alone, but he saw both "the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God."

However, according to the Fourth Gospel Jesus reveals the glory of God through his works, through which he himself is glorified. Thus Jesus told his disciples concerning Lazarus,

This sickness is not unto death, but for the  
glory of God, that the Son of God may be  
glorified thereby.

(Jn.11:4)

Later he said to Martha, after he commanded the stone to be removed from Lazarus' grave,

Said I not unto thee, that, if thou believedst,  
thou shouldest see the glory of God?

(Jn.11:40)

According to our Evangelist, Jesus' question here refers back to an earlier conversation with Martha in which she expressed her belief in the general resurrection at the final judgment (Jn.11:24). Jesus' reply in Jn.11:25 and here in Jn.11:40 implies that in raising Lazarus from the dead the vision of the glory of God which will be seen at the parousia becomes a possibility for the believer even before Jesus' ascension into heaven (compare Acts 7:55).<sup>41</sup>

The glory of God is also revealed in the lifting up of Jesus on the cross which, according to the Fourth Gospel, is the moment when the Son of man is glorified and also when the name of the Father is glorified in him. The voice from heaven in Jn.12:28 is a confirmation that the glory of God is to be seen both in Jesus'

signs and in his death. Jesus said,

The hour is come, that the Son of man should  
be glorified...Father, glorify thy name.  
There came therefore a voice out of heaven,  
saying, I have both glorified it, and will  
glorify it again.  
(Jn.12:23,28)

The Fourth Evangelist, in contrast to the writer of Luke-Acts, shows that Jesus the Son of man does not only reveal this *δοξα* when he ascended into heaven, his ascension is just one more revelation of his pre-existent glory which he shares with the Father and which he has revealed in the past.

After we have peeled away elements in the gospel tradition concerning the vision of the Son of man which are similar to Jn.1:51 we are left with one major difference. It is that according to the Fourth Gospel the Son of man descends from heaven to make possible the vision of the glory of God to individual believers whereas according to Acts 7:55,56, Jesus must first ascend into heaven in order to make possible that vision.

Finally, and this I think helps to clinch my argument for the way in which the Fourth Evangelist reinterprets the parousia vision of the Son of man in the gospel tradition; not only does the descended Son of man reveal the glory of God on earth, but he also condemns those who do not believe in him. Our Evangelist describes this "parousia"-type judgment in a way that is remarkably similar to the context of the visions of the Son of man described in Mk.14:62 par. and Acts 7:56. Again the key difference is that according to the Fourth Gospel the Son of man is on earth and not in heaven.



In Jn.9 the Evangelist describes the trial of one who believes in Jesus. The Pharisees condemn the man because of his faith and they ban him from the synagogue. Next, Jesus reveals himself as the Son of man to this disciple and he worships Jesus. At the same time some of the disciple's accusers are present and Jesus the heavenly Son of man condemns them, having already explained that he came into this world "for judgment":

Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and finding him, he said, Dost thou believe on the Son of man? He answered and said, And who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and he it is that speaketh with thee. And he said, Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him and Jesus said, For judgement came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind. Those of the Pharisees which were with him heard these things, and said unto him, Are we also blind? Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth.<sup>42</sup>  
(Jn.9:35-41)

In the same way that the visions in Mk.14:62 (par.) and in Acts 7:56 promise the reversal in heaven of the verdict of the earthly courts, so also in this passage in Jn.9 Jesus appears as the Son of man who, as judge in the court of heaven, reverses the verdict of the Pharisees against one of his disciples. The Son of man is on earth, he has not yet ascended but condemns the accusers of the one who already worships him. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus came into this world for judgment in the present, whereas according to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus goes out of this world for judgment in the future.<sup>43</sup>

We have looked at the parallels in the New Testament to the

Son of man saying in Jn.1:51. We have found that the distinctive element in the Johannine reinterpretation of the gospel tradition concerning the parousia vision of the Son of man is the belief in the descent of the heavenly Son of man in Jesus even before his resurrection and ascension.<sup>44</sup> Later we will look at some more apocalyptic visions of the open heaven to discover how our Evangelist possibly drew from other traditions within Judaism, having the same scriptural roots, which allowed the Fourth Evangelist to arrive at his distinctive understanding of the vision of God in Jesus. However, in preparation for this, I now want to turn our attention to the one element in the Johannine Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 which is altogether different from the content of the sayings in Mk.14:62 par. and from the vision in Acts 7:56, namely, the mention of the ascending-descending angels.<sup>45</sup> Here I argue that the Evangelist introduces his own allusion to scripture, separate from those allusions in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, in order to clinch his interpretation of the vision of God in the Word become flesh; the descended Son of man (Jn.1:14,51).

## 2 : THE VISION OF THE <sup>C</sup>ASCENDING-DESCENDING ANGELS

Although the Johannine vision of the Son of man does not refer either to "the clouds" of Dan.7:13, or to the enthronement of Psalm 110:1, this vision in Jn.1:51 is not without its own allusion to scripture.

The order for the movement of the angels is odd. According to Jn.1:51 Jesus said,

Ye shall see...the angels of God ascending  
and descending upon the Son of man.

We should expect angels first to descend to earth, then ascend back to heaven. However, we find the same order for the movement of angels in the Genesis account of Jacob's vision at Bethel.

And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up  
on the earth, and the top of it reached to  
heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending  
and descending on it ( *וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו מַלְאָכָיו וְהָאֵל עֹלֶה וְדֹשֵׁר עָלָיו* ).  
(Gen. 28:12)

Nowhere else in either the Old or New Testament do we find the description of angels first ascending to heaven then descending to earth. Therefore we might reasonably assume that in Jn.1:51 we have an allusion to Jacob's vision in Gen.28:12.<sup>46</sup> The dialogue between Nathanael and Jesus anticipates the allusion to Jacob's vision to some extent. God changed Jacob's name to "Israel" when Jacob wrestled with God, or an angel, at the ford of Jabbok (Gen.32:22-30). According to the Fourth Gospel, as Nathanael approached Jesus, Jesus said to him,

Behold, an Israelite indeed (*ἰσραηλῆστής*,  
*Ἰσραηλῆστής*), in whom is no guile!<sup>47</sup>  
(Jn.1:47)



There is a link here between the revelations to John the Baptist and Nathanael which caused them both to testify that Jesus was the Son of God. According to our Evangelist John the Baptist baptised people in order to make the Son of God "manifest to Israel".

And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I baptizing with water...And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God.<sup>48</sup>

(Jn.1:31, and 34)

There may even be some significance in the Baptist's phrase "And I knew him not" (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν) which occurs again in v.33 for special emphasis. After Jacob's vision of the angels upon the ladder leading up to heaven, Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not." (Gen.28:16).

The Septuagint translation of the last phrase (ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ᾔδειν) is similar to the words repeated by the Baptist.<sup>49</sup> The words of Jacob and of the Baptist serve to stress the revelatory nature of the knowledge they received through their visions. The theme of "knowing" and "not knowing" is an important one in the Fourth Gospel in order to emphasise the revelation of Jesus as the Son of God (see Jn.1:10; 14:9; 16:3; 17:25,26 and compare Jn.16:3).

In Jn.1 the witness of John the Baptist and of Jesus confirms that Nathanael is worthy of the name "Israel" because, through a revelation of Jesus' superhuman knowledge of him, he understood Jesus to be the Son of God. The Evangelist probably intends that

his readers should attach some significance to Jesus' promise which he gives to Nathanael in particular, because that promise refers to a vision that Jacob received; the one who sees God and is called by him "Israel".

However, this is not to imply that our Evangelist alludes to Gen.28:12 in order that the readers of his Gospel should understand the description of Jacob's vision at Bethel in its literal sense. The parallel between Jn.1:51 and Gen.28:12 lies only in the movement of the angels. Whether or not the angels are assisted in their ascent and descent by a ladder is, I think, unimportant to the Fourth Evangelist. As we shall see, what is important is that the movement of the angels expresses their desire to see the glory of God. At the heart of the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 there is, as I have been arguing, a desire on the part of our Evangelist to show that Jesus is the vision of God. The reference to the "ascending-descending" angels explains that they too sought this vision (compare 1 Peter 1:12).

Let us consider for a moment the Genesis accounts of two of Jacob's experiences: the one at Bethel; and the other at the ford of Jabbok. There seems to be a confusion in both whether the revelations are angelophanies or theophanies. What is the identity of the figure wrestling with Jacob at the ford of Jabbok? According to Gen.32:24,25 Jacob fights with a man, he then asks the figure to bless him. Next Jacob asks to know his name, and then the revelation dawns on him that he had seen God face to face.

(Jacob) said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel: for thou hast striven with God and with men and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked him, and said Tell me, I pray thee thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for, said he, I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.

(Gen.32:26-30)

Jacob's conclusion contradicts the view of the Fourth Gospel that "no man has seen God at any time" (Jn.1:18). And yet, if as I have been suggesting, the Fourth Gospel associates the vision of God with the vision of the heavenly Son of man on earth, then the Johannine interpretation of the vision of God is close to Jacob's interpretation according to Gen.32:30 because he sees God, in the form of man, face to face on earth.<sup>50</sup>

The confusion as to whether the Genesis passage describes an angelophany or a theophany encourages a variety of interpretations as to what Jacob actually saw. There is a similar confusion in Jacob's vision at Bethel. Gen.28:12 describes an angelophany, but the next verse describes the presence of Yahweh. Again Jacob admits his ignorance of this vision of God until after the revelation.

The LORD was standing beside him and said, 'I am the LORD, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac...' Jacob woke from his sleep and said, 'Truly the LORD is in this place, and I did not know it.' Then he was afraid and said, 'How fearsome is this place! This is no other than the house of God, this is the gate of heaven'.<sup>51</sup>

(Gen.28:13,16,17,N.E.B.)

There are three points to note here in relation to Jn.1:51.



Firstly, there is the significance of the phrase "and I did not know it" in the testimony of the Baptist. Secondly, there is the description "the gate of heaven" which refers to a communication with the heavenly world without the need of the visionary's ascent into heaven. This corresponds to the Johannine interpretation of the open heaven.<sup>52</sup> Thirdly, and most important of all, there is a textual problem which reflects a dispute concerning the presence of God on earth. The Fourth Gospel appears to address this dispute to suggest that the Son of man descends from heaven to be the presence of God and the vision of God on earth.

The prepositional pronoun in the opening sentence of Genesis 28:13 is ambiguous. The Hebrew text reads as follows,

וַיַּעַבְדֵּהוּ ה' הַלַּיְלָה  
וַיִּשְׁכַּב וַיִּחְלֶם

which is translated above as "The LORD was standing beside him."

But וַיַּעַבְדֵּהוּ could possibly be translated "on it", referring to the ladder which is a masculine noun in Hebrew (סֻלָּמַן). This ambiguity does not arise in the Septuagint because the Greek word for the ladder is a feminine noun (κλίμαξ) and the Hebrew וַיַּעַבְדֵּהוּ is translated in the Greek with the feminine prepositional pronoun ἐπ' αὐτῆς. According to the Septuagint Yahweh is in heaven at the top of the ladder. However, many rabbinic arguments have arisen from ambiguities in the scriptures, and this one is no exception.

The Targums present an early example of an argument arising from this particular textual ambiguity. Targum Neofiti reads, "And behold the Lord stood beside him" (וַיֵּשְׁכֶּה לְיָהוָה בְּצִדּוֹ).<sup>53</sup> However, other Targums show an anxiety at the thought of God descending to earth and being seen by Jacob. Thus Targum Onkelos

substitutes the "glory" of the Lord for Yahweh himself.<sup>54</sup>

וְהָאֵל יִקְרָא דִּיּוֹ מֵעַתָּד עֲלוּוָהּ

The Fragment-Targum on the other hand substitutes an angel,

An angel of mercy from before the Lord stood  
placed beside him.<sup>55</sup>

מֵלַאךְ דְּרַחֲמִין קִדְּםָא קִם מֵעַתָּד אֲעִילוּי בְּנִיךְ

We can see from the Targumic translations of the Hebrew text particular interpretations have arisen where the text is ambiguous. The interpretations concerning Gen.28:13 are of special interest to us in the light of the Johannine interpretation of Jacob's vision suggesting that the object of vision is on earth, not in heaven. Jn.1:51 refers specifically to Gen.28:12 and this verse also contains an ambiguity which allows more than one interpretation using the same rabbinic hermeneutical method of giving a specific reading to an ambiguous word or phrase. In this case the ambiguity arises again from the fact that in the Hebrew the word for ladder is of the masculine gender, the same as for Jacob. It is possible to translate

עֲלֵיָם וְיִרְדּוּ בּוֹ

as "ascending and descending on him." Once more the Septuagint translation uses a feminine pronoun to signify the ladder (ἐπ' αὐτῆς). However, this is not the case according to some rabbinic interpretations.

Commentators on Jn.1:51 often refer to the discussion between R. Hiyya and R. Yannai in Ber.R.68.12:<sup>56</sup>

R. Hiyya the Elder and R. Yannai disagreed. One maintained: They were ASCENDING AND DESCENDING on Jacob. The statement that they were ascending and descending the ladder presents no difficulty. The statement that they were ascending and descending on Jacob we must take to mean that some were exalting him and others degrading him, dancing leaping, and maligning him. Thus it says, *Israel in whom I will be glorified* (Isa.XLIX,3); it is thou, (said the angels,) whose features are engraved on high: they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping.<sup>87</sup>

The rabbis in this discussion are Amoraim of the third century C.E. However, the exegetical method is much earlier and most probably the ambiguity of Gen.28:12 would have been made use of at an earlier date among the rabbinic exegetes, such as we have found in the Targums. There are two things to note in relation to the interpretation of Gen.28:12 in Jn.1:51. Firstly, one Rabbi says that the angels move upon Jacob and not the ladder. Secondly, he explains that Jacob is important to the angels because his features are engraved in heaven. There is therefore a constant traffic of angels seeking to look at the sleeping Jacob on earth and at this heavenly image.

There are several rabbinic references stating that Jacob's features are engraved in heaven. For example, commenting on Gen. 32:29, a passage we have already looked at briefly, Ber.R.78.3 presents another interesting example of rabbinic hermeneutical method.

FOR THOU HAST STRIVEN WITH ELOHIM AND WITH MEN AND HAST PREVAILED (XXXII, 29)...Another interpretation of FOR THOU HAST STRIVEN (SARITHA) WITH GOD: it is thou whose features are engraven on high.<sup>88</sup>



The Hebrew for "striven" is  $\text{נָתַן}$  and the Hebrew word for "prince" is  $\text{נָשִׂא}$ . Using the hermeneutic rule of changing the meaning of a word by another with the same symbols the interpretation implied is "For you are a prince ( $\text{נָשִׂא}$ ) with God, your features being engraved on high."<sup>59</sup>

The Targums present a similar interpretation of Gen.28:12. But the explanation for the movement of the angels first in an upward direction differs from the explanation that the rabbinic writings give, and this has some significance for what I have argued so far to be the Johannine understanding of the vision of the open heaven.

Targum Neofiti I and the Fragment Targum are ~~i~~identical here. Targum Neofiti I interprets Gen.28:12 as follows,

And he dreamed and behold a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens, and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: Come and see a just man whose image is engraved in the throne of glory, whom you desire to see. And behold, the angels from before the Lord were ascending and descending and observed him.<sup>60</sup>

Targum Onkelos gives no more than a literal translation of Gen.28:12, whereas Pseudo-Jonathan elaborates greatly. That Targum identifies the angels accompanying Jacob as those whom God expelled from heaven for revealing secrets of the heavenly world. The translations of Neofiti I and of the Fragment Targum are more conservative, although the idea of conveying heavenly secrets is not lost. These Targums explain that the angels first ascend in order to inform other angels where they can find out about the

secret of the image on the divine throne. Hence those other angels, once informed, descend to look upon Jacob, the one whose features are engraved on the throne of glory.

To sum up, we saw that a rabbi could present a mystical interpretation of Gen.28:12. The Targums reflect this tendency in greater measure. For example, the notion of heavenly secrets and the desire to see the throne of glory, and the speculation concerning the identity of the figure seated on the divine throne. These are features that we will meet again in our discussion of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven which includes passages very similar to the description of the visions of merkabah mystics based on the throne vision in Ezek. I.<sup>41</sup> In the Targums as well as in the Rabbinic writings there is also a reluctance to suggest that God descends to earth in order to reveal himself to men. We will see not only the same reluctance in the descriptions of the vision of the open heaven where the mystic ascends to heaven in order to see the throne of glory, but also the reluctance to describe the divine figure seated on the throne.

This ambivalence within Judaism concerning the vision of God seems to be taken into account in the opening chapter of the Fourth Gospel and becomes a central issue within the Gospel. I have argued that Jn.1:51 forms the climax of the testimonies in Jn.1 precisely because it is the clue to the Johannine understanding of the vision of God in Jesus. Jesus, the pre-existent Word, is the one who alone sees God and he descended to earth and tabernacled (ἐσκήνωσεν) among men. This is similar to the picture of the archangel in the Prayer of Joseph who is called

Jacob-Israel and who has knowledge of God's name (see Jn.17:6,11, 12 and v.26). The Prayer of Joseph is the title given to Origen's quotation of an extract from a Jewish Apocryphon.<sup>62</sup> <sup>Here</sup> ~~In it we see~~ <sup>rival with each other</sup> ~~the rivalry among~~ the angels to be the one who sees God, ~~and~~ who is therefore the chief angel before the face of God. A rival angel called Uriel claims to be "called by the name of Jacob" and says "I descended to earth and I tabernacled among men". This serves to highlight one of the key features in the archangel who is called Jacob-Israel. The rivalry chiefly hinges on two features; having pre-eminence as the one who sees God; and being the one who descends to dwell with men.<sup>63</sup>

I, Jacob and Israel, who speak to you am an angel of God and a principal spirit (πνεῦμα ἀρχικόν), and Abraham and Isaac were created before all things (πρὸ παντὸς ἔργου). I, Jacob, am called Jacob by men, but my name is Israel, being called by God Israel, the man who sees God (ἀνὴρ ὁρῶν θεόν), because I am the firstborn (πρωτόγονος) of every living thing which comes to life through God. But when I arrived from Syrian Mesopotamia, Uriel the angel of God came out and said: I descended to earth (κατέβην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν) and I tabernacled among men (κατεσκήνωσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις). And he said: I am called by the name of Jacob. He became my opponent and made war with me, and fought against me, saying that his name would prevail over my name and was before all the angels. And I told him his name and his rank among the sons of God: Are you not Uriel, eighth after me, and I Israel, archangel of the power of the Lord (ἀρχάγγελος δυνάμεως κυρίου) and chief of the captains of thousands (ἀρχιχιλίαρχός) among the sons of God? Am I not Israel the first who ministers before the face of God. And I will call upon my God by his inextinguishable name (ἐν ὀνόματι ἀσβέστω).

(Origen: Commentary on John, Book 2;31)

The passage describes the descent from heaven of the chief angel before the face of God. This resembles the mystical



interpretation of Gen.28:12 in the Targums and in the rabbinic writings concerning the image of the figure seated on the divine throne.<sup>44</sup> The distinctive element in the Apocryphon is that the angel Israel leaves the presence of the throne of glory in order to descend to earth. In his incarnation he is called Jacob by men. When he ascends again to the heavenly world there is rivalry with another angel called Uriel. The rivalry is not to be confused with the hostility of angels towards the ascent of any man into the heavenly world.<sup>45</sup> The rivalry described here is between pre-existent angelic beings who are chief among the heavenly hosts because they minister before the face of God.

Therefore the allusion to Gen.28:12 in Jn.1:51 may lead us to a tradition within Judaism which enabled our Evangelist to describe Jesus as the vision of the Son of man who descends to earth and later ascends back to heaven. The evidence of mystical interpretations of Gen.28:12 suggests that the description of the open heaven in Jn.1:51 may be connected with a mystical tradition which involves speculation concerning the man-like figure above the divine throne in Ezek.1:26. Here we may find that the expression "the Son of man" in Jn.1:51 is not taken wholly from the gospel tradition and attached awkwardly to an Old Testament vision text in order to identify the Son of man of the gospel tradition with mystical traditions concerning Jacob-Israel.<sup>46</sup> Instead we may find that the expression "the Son of man" suits the Evangelist's purpose to show that Jesus is the one who descends from heaven to communicate the vision of God to men. The significance of Gen.28:12 in this Son of man saying is threefold;

firstly, to show that Jesus is the vision of God which the angels seek; secondly, to show that this vision takes place on earth, like the visions of the prophets and in contrast to the mystics' heavenly ascents (but also in contrast to the visions of the exalted Son of man in the gospel tradition); thirdly, to show that the Johannine Son of man is the pre-existent heavenly figure who descends from the throne of glory in order to reveal God to men.

## 3 : THE VISION OF THE OPEN HEAVEN

In the promise "ye shall see the heaven opened", the words *τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγόντα* provide a clue to the background from which the Evangelist draws in order to interpret the vision of the Son of man as a vision to Nathanael and other disciples, and not as the vision which everyone will see at the parousia. Elsewhere in the New Testament the description of the open heaven is almost a technical term for personal visions. We have seen that the phrase occurs in Acts 7:56. This phrase also occurs at the beginning of Peter's vision which resolves his understanding of things clean and unclean.

He beholdeth the heaven opened (*τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγμένον*) and a certain vessel descending, as it were a great sheet.  
(Acts 10:11)

In the Apocalypse of John the seer uses the phrase to introduce his vision of the warrior lamb.

And I saw the heaven opened (*τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον*); and behold, a white horse, and he that sat thereon, called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.  
(Rev. 19:11)

Here the seer recognises this warrior as the Word of God (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* Rev. 19:13 compare Jn. 1:1), and in appearance he resembles the "one like unto a son of man" who appears to the seer at the opening of his Apocalypse (Rev. 1:13);

His eyes are a flame of fire...And out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp sword.<sup>47</sup>  
(Rev. 19:12,15 compare Rev. 1:14,16)

In Rev. 1 this figure is also the Son of man who "cometh with the



clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they which pierced him" (Rev.1:7 and compare Jn.19:37). Later, in the same vision, the seer describes the divine throne with a figure seated on it (Rev.20:11 compare Dan.7:9).

In this vision Jesus the Word of God is the Lamb in the presence of God, seated on the divine throne next to God. We know that the goal of apocalyptic visionaries is to see the face of God and to know his name. The way in which our Apocalyptist includes the figure of the "Lamb" in Rev.22:1-5 suggests that he possesses the divine name and is the face of God. It is his face and his name that the righteous will see and know (Rev.22:4). In the opening vision of the apocalypse this figure appears separate from the throne. In the closing vision the same figure is seated on the divine throne. This is particularly significant because the "one like a son of man", who is a messenger, also has the appearance of the Ancient of Days who is seated on the throne in Dan.7. This is important for my understanding of Jn.1:51, but first I must show the possibility of the connection between that Son of man saying and the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven based on Ezek.1 and Isa.6.

There is an earlier description of the throne-vision in Rev.4. If we isolated this throne vision from the rest of the Apocalypse there would be little evidence to show that it <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ part of a Christian Apocalypse because it is thoroughly Jewish in character.<sup>40</sup> The seer introduces his vision in a similar way to those New Testament visions which describe the opening of the heavens, only, on this occasion he describes the opening of a door

in heaven, and the seer ascends to heaven for the vision of God.

After these things I saw, and behold, a door opened in heaven (θύρα ἡνεωχμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), and the first voice which I heard, a voice as of a trumpet speaking with me, one saying, Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must come to pass hereafter. Straightway I was in the Spirit: and behold, there was a throne set in heaven, and one sitting upon the throne; and he that sat was to look upon like a jasper stone and a sardius: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, like an emerald to look upon.

(Rev.4:1-4)

Just as the throne-vision of the apocalyptic visionaries and merkabah mystics in Judaism of late antiquity made use of the biblical throne visions of the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah and Daniel (particularly Ezek.1); so also the seer in Rev.4 has many details in his vision which are common to those prophetic visions. The extent to which the throne-vision in Rev.4 is dependent upon elements in the throne-visions of Ezek.1; Isa.6; and Dan.7 can be shown from the following examples:

a throne set in heaven, and one sitting upon the throne

(Rev.4:2, compare Isa.6:1; Ezek.1:26; Dan.7:9);

a rainbow round about the throne

(Rev.4:3, compare Ezek.1:28);

lamps of fire burning before the throne

(Rev.4:5, compare Ezek.1:13);

a glassy sea like unto a crystal

(Rev.4:6, compare Ezek.1:22);

four living creatures full of eyes before and behind

(Rev.4:6, compare Ezek.1:5,18 and particularly Ezek.10:12);

And the first creature was like a lion,  
and the second creature like a calf,  
and the third creature had a face as of a man,  
and the fourth creature was like a flying eagle.

(Rev.4:7, compare Ezek.1:10 and  
particularly Ezek.10:14);

having each one of them six wings  
(Rev.4:8, compare Isa.6:2);

saying "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God,  
the Almighty"

(Rev.4:8, compare Isa.6:3)

A key move away from the visions of the biblical prophets by some apocalyptic seers, including the seer in the New Testament, is their ascent into heaven in order to receive their visions. Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel do not describe any ascent into heaven.

And yet, the apocalyptic mystics describe their throne-visions in terms very similar to the details of the prophetic throne-visions and they often introduce their vision in the way that Ezekiel does by referring to the opening of the heavens (Ezek.1:1).

I shall now give two examples of descriptions of throne-visions which are earlier than the Apocalypse of John. These visions are from Jewish writings of the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, and the extracts I have taken from these visions show the importance of the prophetic vision combined with the journey of the mystic through the heavens. The first example comes from the Enoch cycle of apocalyptic writings.

And behold I saw the clouds: And they were calling me in a vision; and the fogs were calling me; and the course of the stars and the lightnings were rushing me and causing me to desire; and in the vision, the winds were causing me to fly and rushing me high up into heaven. And I kept coming (into heaven) until I approached a wall which was built of white marble and surrounded by



tongues of fire; and it began to frighten me...And I entered into the house...And as I shook and trembled, I fell upon my face and saw a vision. And behold there was an opening before me (and) a second house which is greater than the former and everything was built with tongues of fire. And in every respect it excelled (the other) - in glory and great honor - ...And I observed and saw inside it a lofty throne - its appearance was like crystal and its wheels like the shining sun; and (I heard?) the voice of the cherubim; and from beneath the throne were issuing streams of flaming fire. It was difficult to look at it. And the Great Glory was sitting upon it - as for his gown, which was shining more brightly than the sun, it was whiter than any snow. None of the angels was able to come in and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One; and no one of the flesh can see him.-  
 (I Enoch 14:8,9,13,14-16,18-21)<sup>69</sup>

This merkabah passage extends from I Enoch 14.8-25. Here I have emphasised those details which signify an ascent to the heavenly throne vision by going through the heavens. Once the throne is described, together with the one seated on the throne, we can see the parallels with Isa.6; Ezek.1:9,26 and Dan.7:7,10.<sup>70</sup> The second passages comes from the Testament of Levi:

Then sleep fell upon me, and I beheld a high mountain, and I was on it. And behold the heavens were opened (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἠνεώχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί), and an angel of the Lord spoke to me: 'Levi, Levi, enter!' And I entered the first heaven, and saw there much water suspended. And, again I saw a second heaven much brighter and more lustrous, for there was a measureless height in it.  
 (Test.Levi 2:5-8)

The vision continues with the angelic messenger, his protector, explaining to Levi the contents of the heavens he has passed through. He tells him particularly concerning the "uppermost heaven" where the "Great Glory" dwells in the Holy of

Holies. There is the same sense of fear and trembling as in the vision in I Enoch 14. The angel informs Levi of his special role as minister and priest and then the vision comes to the climax,

At this moment the angel opened for me the gates of heaven (καὶ ᾤνοίξε μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and I saw the Holy Most High sitting on the throne. And he said to me, 'Levi, to you I have given the blessing of the priesthood until I shall come and dwell in the midst of Israel'.<sup>71</sup>

(Test. Levi 5:1,2)

One feature that stands out in relation to the Fourth Gospel is in the passage from I Enoch. The seer is told that neither the angelic beings nor earthly beings could see the face of the figure on the throne.

None of the angels was able to come in and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One; and no one of the flesh can see him.

(I Enoch 14:21)

This suggests a hesitancy to describe the vision of God and reflects the same dispute which we have seen is central to the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the Son of man in relation to Jn.1:18. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus takes a firm stand in affirming that only he, and no-one else has ever seen God, (Jn.5:37;6:46) but that he himself is the vision of God to men (Jn.12:45;14:9 and compare Jn.1:18).

In the Testament of Levi there may be an allusion to Jacob's vision at Bethel.<sup>72</sup> At the climax of the seer's vision ~~when~~ he tells us that the angel opened for him "the gates of heaven" (τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, Test. Levi 5:1). According to Gen.28:16,17, when Jacob awoke from his dream, he realised that the Lord was in

that place and he did not know it. He began to be afraid and said

This is none other but the house of God, and  
this is the gate of heaven.  
(Gen.28:17)

The Septuagint reads ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . There is an alternative reading in <sup>a</sup>the manuscript of Test. Levi which has θύρας, as we might expect, instead of πύλας but the reading in the text of the critical edition of the Greek text by M. de Jonge is πύλας.<sup>73</sup>

Concerning these two passages and others, I. Gruenwald says,

Jewish merkava mysticism takes its literary, and possibly also its historical departure from the visions of the divine chariot as they are described mainly in Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1 and 10. An important intermediary stage can be found in apocalyptic literature, where books such as the Ethiopic Enoch, the Slavonic Enoch, the Testament of Levi, the Ascension of Isaiah and others, all contain apocalyptic experiences in which the seer is translated during his lifetime into heaven and is granted a vision of the Most High.<sup>74</sup>

And concerning the throne-vision in Rev.4 P. S. Alexander writes,

The Book of Revelation is basically an apocalypse (a vision of the end-time) but it does contain material related to Ma'aseh Merkabah. The description of God's throne in Revelation 4 harmonizes elements from Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7, and Isaiah 6, just as the Merkabah texts do. The heavenly hymns in Revelation form, perhaps, the most interesting link with the Merkabah texts. Their repetition of emotive words such as "praise", "honor", "glory", "might", "power", and "wealth" are rather reminiscent of some of the merkabah hymns. See especially Revelation 4:11; 5:12,13; 7:12,15:3f.<sup>75</sup>

To sum up, there are features in Rev. 4, I Enoch 14; and Test. Levi 2:5-5:3 that relate to the Fourth Gospel. Firstly, there is



the introductory vision of the open heaven; secondly there is the hint of a similar dispute concerning man's ability to see God; and thirdly there is the allusion to Jacob's vision at Bethel. All three features are inter-related and have particular relevance for the significance of the vision of the Son of man in Jn.1:51. As I have argued, this Johannine Son of man saying is of central importance to the whole of the Gospel because it comes at the climax of the series of testimonies. The saying is important not because the expression "Son of man" is the most exalted title, but because it gives an interpretation of the vision of God in the light of Jn.1:14,18.

So far we have seen that the issues with which the Fourth Gospel is concerned are the same issues that occupy the apocalyptic visionary. However, the distinctive way that the Fourth Evangelist resolves these issues is to claim that the Son of man descends from heaven (Jn.3:13). We saw that this was the distinctive feature in contrast to the visions of the Son of man described in Mk.14:62(par.) and Acts 7:56, and it remains a distinctive feature in contrast to some apocalyptic visions of the open heaven. My task now is to show that the throne-vision in Ezek.1 provides the key to our Evangelist's claim that Jesus is the heavenly Son of man figure who descends to earth to reveal his glory before his parousia, even before his resurrection and ascension, because he was able to show his glory to Jacob and to the prophets in the past (see Jn.12:41). This reinterpretation of the gospel tradition concerning "the Son of man" is made possible by linking the expression to the figure in human form in Ezekiel's

vision.

Whereas this figure appears to be part of a throne-vision in Ezek.1; the same figure appears in Ezek.8:2 separate from the throne, as an angelic messenger to the prophet on earth. On the one hand we have an anthropomorphic description of the divine being on the throne, on the other hand we have the same figure in the role of an angelic messenger.<sup>76</sup> This messenger comes down to Ezekiel on earth in order to take the prophet to Jerusalem in a "vision of God" (Ezek.8:3,4). Here are the two descriptions of that figure:

And upon the likeness of the throne was a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above. And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire within it round about, from the appearance of his loins and upward; and from the appearance of his loins and downward I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and there was brightness round about him.

(Ezek.1:26,27)

Then I beheld, and, lo, a likeness as the appearance of a man; from the appearance of his loins and downward, fire: and from his loins and upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber. And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem.

(Ezek.8:2,3)

From these passages, a strong case can be put forward for the view that there is a common tradition connecting Rev.1:13; Dan.7:13 and Ezek.1:26.<sup>77</sup> There are literary and theological connections between these works which show the development of an apocalyptic tradition whereby a principal angelic messenger takes on the attributes of the one seated on the throne. For example,

in the visions of Ezekiel the prophet particularly associates the "glory of Yahweh" with the one in human form who is seated on the throne in Ezek.1:26 and who appears separate from the throne in Ezek.8:2. In Ezek.1:28 we read,

This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD.

This description does not apply to the whole throne-chariot vision but only to the  $\text{וְהָיָה כְּהָיוֹתָם}$  in Ezek.1:26 because the same description is given in Ezek.8:4 where there is no throne chariot vision but only  $\text{וְהָיָה כְּהָיוֹתָם}$  is seen (Ezek.8:2). The connection between "the glory of the LORD" and the human form in Ezekiel 1 and 8 suggests that there is a similar connection between "the clouds of heaven" and the one like a Son of man in Dan.7:13.<sup>79</sup> In Daniel's vision "the clouds" seem to represent the presence of the glory of the Lord which Moses and his elders witness on mount Sinai,

And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the appearance of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.

(Exod.24:16,17)

This "glory" became the possession of the "one like a son of man":

And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him.

(Dan.7:14)

There are three significant points to note in connection with the Sinai theophany in Exodus 24. Firstly, the term "glory" ( $\text{כְּבוֹד}$ ) is used in Exodus 16:10 and 40:34,35 for the visible



manifestation of God in the form of a cloud. This cloud represented the presence of the Lord in the tabernacle. When the cloud moved the Israelites moved. The cloud was therefore like an angelic guide to Israel during their wilderness wanderings.

Secondly, there is another passage in Exodus where this <sup>7122</sup><sub>T</sub> is in the form of a human figure. In Exodus 33:18 Moses is talking with the Lord and he asks the Lord to show him his "glory". The Lord promises to reveal his name to Moses (v.19) but he will not allow Moses to see his face. The Lord puts his hand over Moses face and only takes it away when he has his back to Moses:

And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for man shall not see me and live. And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock: And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand until I have passed by: and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my face shall not be seen.<sup>79</sup>

(Exod.33:20-23)

The appearance of the glory of the Lord to Moses as a figure may reflect a similar tradition to the throne-vision in Ezekiel 1 and the cloud-man in Daniel 7.

This becomes more apparent with my third point in connection with the Sinai theophany. In Exodus 24:10 there is a description of the vision of God to Moses and the elders which has elements similar to the vision of the merkabah in Ezek.10. In Exodus we read,

Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: And they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.

(Exod.24:9-11)

The description of the pavement of sapphire stone (פֶּמֶצֶת לַבְּנֵי) appears also in the throne vision in Ezek.10.

There is a description of the merkabah and God summons "the man clothed in linen" to enter between the wheels of the merkabah. The prophet tells us that the glory of the Lord moves to fill the court and this glory is made visible in the presence of the cloud (Ezek.10:2-4,6). But who is the man clothed in linen who can enter the cloud, the glory of the Lord? In the later apocalyptic writings this figure is included in the speculation surrounding the figure in human form in the throne-visions. For example, a similar description occurs in the features that Daniel gives to his angelic messenger in a different vision to the one described in Dan.7. These features pertain to "a man clothed in linen" in Dan.10:5,6. C. C. Rowland points out that there are strong similarities between the angelophanies in Dan.10:5ff and Ezek.8:1ff which suggest a common tradition lying behind them.<sup>80</sup>

I will now place the relevant passages of the Danielic visions together with the description of the vision of the Son of man figure in Rev.1:13ff in order to show that this same tradition lies behind the New Testament Apocalypse.

One that was ancient of days did sit; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him.

(Dan.7:9,10)

I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with pure gold of Uphaz: his body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to burnished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.

(Dan.10:5,6)

One like unto a Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about at the breasts with a golden girdle. And his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire; and his feet like unto burnished brass, as if it had been refined in a furnace; and his voice as the voice of many waters.

(Rev.1:13-15)

To sum up, we have seen some common features in the visions of Ezekiel, Daniel and the Apocalypse of John which suggest that they share a common tradition. The earliest stage of this tradition appears to be in Ezek.1 which describes the vision of the open heaven. We saw that some apocalyptic visionaries contemporary with the Fourth Gospel drew upon Ezek.1 for their descriptions of the throne-vision which was the goal of their heavenly journeys. In these apocalyptic writings an ascent into heaven accompanied the vision of the open heaven (see for example Test. Levi 2:6ff; I Enoch 14:15ff; Rev.4:1ff). However, as in Ezek.1 so also in Jn.1:51 the vision of the open heaven is not



accompanied by an ascent into heaven in order that the visionary may see the glory of God. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus is the vision of God to men, and this interpretation of the vision of God may also have its roots in the prophetic vision of the open heaven in Ezek.1. In Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse of John the one seated on the throne shares some of the features of the messenger separate from the throne. There is a union of the two figures implicit in the descriptions which the prophet and the seer give. The Fourth Evangelist implies a similar union between the Son of man who descends from heaven, and God, because they share the same "glory". However, in the Fourth Gospel this union between the sender and the one sent is explicit in such statements as the following:

I and the Father are one.  
(Jn.10:30)

He that beholdeth me beholdeth him that sent me.  
(Jn.12:45)

He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.  
(Jn.14:9)

In Jn.1:51 the expression "the Son of man" is particularly appropriate in association with the description of the "open heaven" because this combination tells the reader that Jesus is the heavenly being in human form who communicates the vision of God to men.

We may now turn to the Son of man sayings in Jn.3:13,14 in which we will see more clearly how the Fourth Evangelist understands Jesus to be the heavenly Son of man figure who, like the angelic messenger in the Old Testament, descends to earth to

reveal God to men.

CHAPTER TWO  
JOHN 3:13-15 THE ASCENT OF THE SON OF MAN

καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς  
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Καὶ  
καθὼς Μωϋσῆς ὕψωσεν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ  
ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου. ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχῃ  
ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

And no man hath ascended into heaven, but  
he that descended out of heaven, even the  
Son of man, which is in heaven. And as  
Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,  
even so must the Son of man be lifted up:  
that whosoever believeth may in him have  
eternal life.

There are significant similarities between Jn.3:13,14 and Jn.1:51. Firstly, our Evangelist introduces Nicodemus, another figure not in the other Gospels. The saying to Nathanael in Jn.1:51 interpreted Jn.1:18 concerning the vision of God. The Son of man sayings in Jn.3:13,14 also have a significant relation to Jn.1:18. Jn.3:13, like Jn.1:18, is an exclusive statement about Jesus. It refers to the heavenly journey in the apocalyptic speculation of the throne-vision. Therefore, our Evangelist introduces both Nathanael and Nicodemus into the gospel story in order to shed light on his interpretation of the vision of the open heaven.



Secondly, the Son of man saying in Jn.3:14 reinterprets Synoptic-type Son of man sayings which refer to the passion of Jesus. Whereas Jn.1:51 is similar to Son of man sayings in the Synoptic Gospels which described the parousia vision of the Son of man figure, Jn.3:14 is similar to those sayings in the Synoptic Gospels which promised his death on the cross. Just as in Jn.1:51 the reinterpretation of the gospel tradition included the use of an Old Testament vision text unique to the Fourth Gospel, so also in Jn.3:14 the Johannine interpretation of the lifting up of the Son of man on the cross includes an allusion to another Old Testament vision text which occurs only in this Gospel. Both Old Testament passages are linked with speculations within Judaism.

Thirdly, in the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 our Evangelist could have used existing scriptural traditions for his interpretation of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven. His interpretation claims that the heavenly Son of man, who is associated with the figure seated on the throne of glory, descends to earth to reveal God to men. The saying in Jn.3:13 tells us that the Son of man descended out of heaven and will return back to heaven through being lifted up on the cross. The Fourth Evangelist possibly uses apocalyptic traditions within Judaism which describe angelophanies that deny the ascent of the visionary into heaven. A comparison with other apocalyptic visions shows that the Fourth Gospel takes a particular stance on the vision of the open heaven. In this chapter the stance this Gospel takes is not altogether different from certain contemporary apocalyptic writings.

These similarities between the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 and the sayings in Jn.3:13,14 suggest a development in the Evangelist's involvement with speculative traditions within Judaism. Jesus described the vision in Jn.1:51 as a promise to Nathanael and to the other disciples that they would see heavenly things. In Jn.3, Jesus denies Nicodemus the knowledge of heavenly things and he also denies that a mystic or his hero can ascend into heaven (Jn.3:12,13). The Fourth Evangelist appears to deliberately contrast two key figures in his Gospel, and makes them represent certain groups of people. On the one hand, Nathanael, representing the disciples of Jesus is promised a vision similar to Jacob's vision at Bethel. On the other hand, Nicodemus, representing those Pharisees and rulers of the Jews who believe God is with Jesus, is <sup>told by Jesus</sup> ~~denied the belief~~ <sup>not</sup> that man can make a heavenly journey and gain knowledge of the heavenly world. In this chapter I want to explore the possibility of a conflict of authority between Jesus and his disciples, and the Jewish religious authorities. Such a conflict of authority seems to be implied in these Son of man sayings.

The three basic similarities between the opening Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel can serve as stages in our investigations. Firstly, we will look at the figure of Nicodemus in the Gospel, particularly in relation to the figure of Nathanael. Secondly, we will look at the Son of man sayings in Jn.3:14 in the light of the gospel tradition which the Fourth Evangelist reinterprets. Finally, we will turn to the controversial saying in Jn.3:13 in the light of a similar

controversy within apocalyptic Judaism.

Behind the Johannine reinterpretation of the gospel story lies the historical situation of the Johannine community. This community presents a rival interpretation of scripture to that of the Pharisees, the religious rulers within Judaism. We will now look at the role given to Nicodemus in the Fourth Gospel to see that rival claims to authority within Judaism are a central issue in the Johannine understanding of the vision of the open heaven.



## 1 : NICODEMUS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Nicodemus is a key figure in the Gospel for the Johannine understanding of the Son of man. He, like Nathanael, appears only in the Fourth Gospel. They both represent types of people willing to explore the meaning of Judaism in the light of what it means to believe in Jesus.<sup>1</sup> There are several points of similarity in the Fourth Gospel's presentation of Nathanael and Nicodemus. These similarities suggest that the Evangelist is drawing the reader's attention to these two men in the light of the Son of man sayings which Jesus addresses to them and to their kind.

The points of similarity that I want to look at are as follows:

- (a) both men appear alongside other figures, who are also named, in narratives which are in all four Gospels and are therefore firmly rooted in the gospel tradition;
- (b) both men express some kind of belief in Jesus;
- (c) the Fourth Gospel describes the relation of both men to the ministry of John the Baptist;
- (d) the Gospel shows that the scriptures (the Law of Moses) are an important authority for both men;
- (e) Jesus says something about each of them which expresses a particular understanding of their relation to Israel; and finally
- (f) the Son of man sayings addressed to Nathanael and to Nicodemus interpret scripture passages involved in disputes within Judaism, and our Gospel links these texts to the speculations

surrounding the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven.

We will now look at each of these points to discover why, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus promised the vision of the open heaven to Nathanael but not to Nicodemus.

(a) According to the Fourth Gospel Nicodemus helps Joseph of Arimathaea to attend to the burial of Jesus' body. All four Gospels mention that Joseph of Arimathaea approached Pilate and asked him for permission to bury Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Only Matthew's Gospel and the Fourth Gospel refer to Joseph of Arimathaea as a disciple of Jesus. Mt.27:57 reads:

*ὅς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθήτευσεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.*

Jn.19:38 adds that Joseph was afraid of the Jews and therefore kept his discipleship secret:

*ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ  
διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων*

The other detail that Matthew adds about Joseph of Arimathaea is that he was a rich man (*ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος*).<sup>3</sup> Mark and Luke do not refer to Joseph's wealth, but they mention that he is a member of the city council (*βουλευτής*). This means that he is a member of the sanhedrin at Jerusalem, a detail which seems significant in relation to Nicodemus. Our Evangelist tells us that Nicodemus is "a ruler of the Jews (*ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων*)" (Jn.3:1), and according to Jn.7:45-52 he is present at a meeting of the sanhedrin at Jerusalem.

Mk.14:43 says that Joseph is "a councillor of honourable estate (*εὐσχήμων βουλευτής*)". the mention of his good position in society may imply that he is a rich man. However, Lk.23:50

refers instead to his piety:

*βουλευτής ὑπάρχων, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος.*

Luke's description possibly adds one more similarity with Nicodemus because Jn.3:1 tells us that Nicodemus is "a man of the Pharisees". The Pharisees were noted for their piety.

From the descriptions of Joseph of Arimathaea according to the Synoptic Gospels, Joseph is a member of the sanhedrin and a pious man. For these reasons alone the Fourth Evangelist might have included Nicodemus in the gospel tradition concerning the burial of Jesus. When we look at Luke's account of Joseph of Arimathaea, we see that the Fourth Evangelist's account is perhaps a comment on the role that Nicodemus plays in his Gospel. Here is Luke's account of Joseph of Arimathaea approaching Pilate:

And behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, a good man and a righteous, (he had not consented (οὐκ...συνκατατιθέμενος) to their counsel and deed), a man of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews, who was looking for the kingdom of God: this man went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus.  
(Lk.23:50-52)

Firstly, Joseph disagrees with his colleagues on the sanhedrin about Jesus. In the Fourth Gospel our Evangelist describes a meeting of the sanhedrin in which Nicodemus expresses his disagreement with the counsel of his colleagues concerning Jesus. The religious leaders in Jerusalem had sent officers to arrest Jesus. When the officers returned without him the Pharisees at the council said,



Are ye also led astray? Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed. Nicodemus saith unto them (he that came to him before, being one of them), Doth our law judge a man, except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.

(Jn.7:47-52)

The suggestion that Nicodemus is a Galilaean is abusive, implying that Nicodemus, like the multitude, is ignorant of the Law.<sup>4</sup> The Pharisees were suspicious of any division of opinion concerning what to do with Jesus and concerning who he was. Nicodemus was not the only Pharisee nor the only ruler who felt differently about Jesus. The Evangelist informs us that there was a division among them concerning Jesus:

Some therefore of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, because he keepeth not the sabbath. But others said, How can a man that is a sinner do such signs? And there was a division among them.

(Jn.9:16)

He explains, in his summary conclusion to Jesus' public ministry, that many of the rulers believed in him (Jn.12:42). The Pharisees were so anxious about this division among the rulers that they threatened to ban from the synagogue any who confessed their faith in Jesus.

The Fourth Evangelist describes this same tense atmosphere in his account of Jesus' burial when he describes Joseph of Arimathaea as "a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews". Perhaps in order to suggest to the reader Nicodemus's complicity in the secrecy, the Evangelist reminds the reader that

Nicodemus was the one who had previously come to Jesus "by night" (see Jn.19:38,39 and 3:2). The final detail, that the determining factor in the choice of a tomb was its nearness to the place where Jesus was crucified, suggests, perhaps, that the two men did not want to prolong the risk of offending their Jewish colleagues (Jn.19:41,42).<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, Luke informs us that Joseph was looking for (πρὸς-ἐδέχeto) the kingdom of God (Lk.23:51).<sup>6</sup> According to Jn.3, Jesus' opening words to Nicodemus presuppose that this ruler of the Jews had come to Jesus because he too was looking for the kingdom of God. The phrase "the kingdom of God" (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) only occurs twice in the Fourth Gospel and is only addressed to Nicodemus (Jn.3:3,5).

To sum up, the Fourth Evangelist inserts the figure of Nicodemus into a well-known narrative in the gospel tradition. On the one hand he inserts the figure of Nathanael in the gospel narrative of the call of the first disciples, and on the other hand he inserts Nicodemus into the gospel narrative of Jesus' burial. Nathanael the Galilaean is associated with Jesus' disciples, whereas Nicodemus is associated with Joseph of Arimathaea; a ruler of the Jews; one who was prepared to attend to Jesus' burial; and who, according to Luke, disagreed with his colleagues concerning Jesus. According to the Fourth Gospel, Nicodemus signals that the division Jesus caused among the rulers and the Pharisees was more widespread than the Synoptic Gospels suggest, and posed a more serious threat to the Pharisees. They took strong measures to prevent any in their ranks from confessing

a belief in Jesus.

The Fourth Evangelist inserted Nicodemus into his version of the gospel story for a purpose. This figure points to a widening division among the Jewish religious authorities over a growing sect within Judaism who were followers of Jesus. Fortunately for our Evangelist the traditional gospel narrative describing Jesus' burial enabled him to present, in a dramatic way, this situation that particularly concerns him. In his summary conclusion of Jesus' public ministry he informs his reader that

even of the rulers many believed on him; but  
because of the Pharisees they did not confess  
it.

(Jn.12:42)

We must now turn to a second point of comparison between Nathanael and Nicodemus and see why the Fourth Evangelist considers the belief of those like Nicodemus to be inadequate.

(b) Nathanael and Nicodemus both express some kind of belief in Jesus, but the Fourth Gospel shows that Jesus commends Nathanael's belief in him, as the Son of God, but Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus shows that his belief is inadequate. Nathanael expresses his belief that Jesus is the Son of God even before seeing any of Jesus' signs. Jesus therefore promised him that his signs would become for Nathanael the vision of the open heaven. He would see what Jacob saw.

In contrast to Nathanael, Nicodemus came to Jesus because of the many signs he had performed in Jerusalem. Nicodemus concluded that Jesus must be a rabbi whose personal piety meant that he had a close relation to God. He said of him,



Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him.  
(Jn.3:2)

The Evangelist's summary of the effect of Jesus' signs in Jerusalem serves to stress the inadequacy of Nicodemus's assessment of Jesus:

Now when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, during the feast, many believed on his name, beholding his signs which he did. But Jesus did not trust himself unto them, for that he knew all men, and because he needed not that any one should bear witness concerning man; for he himself knew what was in man. Now there was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus...

(Jn.2:23-3:1 and see Jn.4:48)

The Son of man sayings to Nicodemus do not promise him the vision of the open heaven. Jesus tells Nicodemus that "whosoever believeth" may have eternal life (Jn.3:15). In contrast, Jesus acknowledged Nathanael's belief in him with a promise of visions (Jn.1:50,51): to one, a possibility; to the other, a promise.

A picture emerges of a disciple of Jesus who believes him to be the Son of God, and a ruler of the Jews who is under pressure from his colleagues not to believe in Jesus.<sup>7</sup> However, Nicodemus believes that this man Jesus must be sent from God because of the signs he performs. The faith of one is sufficient for him to receive the vision of the open heaven, but the faith of the other is inadequate because it does not lead to a confession of faith in Jesus as the Son of God.

c) The Evangelist shows how the beliefs Nathanael and Nicodemus express in Jesus reflect their contrasting responses to the witness of John the Baptist. Nathanael was most probably a

disciple of John the Baptist. His belief in Jesus confirms the testimony of the Baptist. Nicodemus, as a man of the Pharisees, represents those who question the authority of John the Baptist to baptize. Jesus challenges him on this point (Jn.1:24,25;3:3,5).

In Jn.1:19-28 the Fourth Evangelist emphasises the Baptist's confrontation with the religious rulers in Jerusalem. He begins his account of the Baptist's ministry at the moment when a delegation from the rulers in Jerusalem arrives to enquire concerning his authority (Jn.1:19).

Then the Evangelist mentions that the Pharisees specifically questioned John the Baptist about his authority to baptize:

And they had been sent from the Pharisees.  
And they asked him, and said unto him, Why  
then baptizest thou, if thou art not the  
Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?  
(Jn.1:24,25)

The Pharisees refer to messianic figures who were expected at the approach of the messianic kingdom. According to the Fourth Gospel John the Baptist denied being any of these figures. Therefore the Pharisees doubted his authority to baptize. Nicodemus, a man of the Pharisees and a ruler of the Jews, shared that doubt, because according to Jn.3:5 Jesus told Nicodemus that he could not enter the kingdom of heaven unless he was baptized

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a  
man be born of water and the Spirit, he  
cannot enter into the kingdom of God.  
(Jn.3:5)

According to the Fourth Gospel the Pharisees are anxious about the number of people being baptized as well as being anxious about those who confess their faith in Jesus. After the dialogue

between Jesus and Nicodemus in Jerusalem the Evangelist explains why Jesus must leave Judaea and go into Galilee again:

When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John (although Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), he left Judaea and departed again into Galilee.

(Jn.4:1-3)

If the rulers had any doubt about John's authority to baptize, then they certainly had no doubt about Jesus and his disciples. On this point Nicodemus was under pressure from his colleagues. According to the Pharisees in Jn.1, baptism was a confession of belief in the messianic authority of the one who baptizes. John's baptism implied to them this same authority. In the light of his testimony to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, if John's baptism was a threat to the authority of the rulers and the Pharisees, then Jesus' baptism was an even greater threat to their authority. Their authority depended on the belief that they interpreted the Law of Moses correctly. According to that interpretation Jesus was not a messianic figure (Jn.7:52), but a "sinner" who broke the Law of Moses (Jn.5:10,16;9:16).

(d) Closely linked to the question of the authority to baptize, is the question of the authority of the Law of Moses. The Fourth Gospel shows how Nathanael and Nicodemus understood the authority of that Law.

I began this chapter by pointing out that Jn.3:13 like Jn.1:51, is of special significance and importance in relation to the concluding words of the Prologue in the Fourth Gospel. The exclusive claim made for the Son is matched by a similar exclusive



claim made for the Son of man. However, the context of the exclusive statement in Jn.1:18 is almost polemical because the previous verse makes a contrast between the authority of the Law of Moses and the superior authority of the Son who is the Word become flesh. Jn.1:14-18 would appear to be addressing those, in particular, who believed that Moses was a greater authority than Jesus. This passage says that Moses is the visionary who bears witness to Jesus, the vision of God. The testimony of John the Baptist is the same, as Jn.5:33-47 explains, together with the Prologue.

The similarity between the statements in Jn.1:18 and Jn.3:13 suggests both were addressed to those Jews who saw Moses as having greater authority than Jesus. A closer look at Nicodemus shows that this is most probably the case. The Evangelist describes him as "a man of the Pharisees...a ruler of the Jews". He has Jesus describe Nicodemus as "the teacher of Israel". The claim that "No man hath seen God at any time" and the claim that "no man hath ascended into heaven" are addressed, in particular, to disciples of Moses, those in authority who interpret the Law. On the one hand, a disciple of Jesus tells Nathanael the Galilaean to "come and see" Jesus (Jn.1:46); on the other hand, the disciples of Moses, who are Nicodemus's colleagues, tell him to "search and see" (ἐραύνησον καὶ ἴδε ) from the scriptures that Jesus is not the prophet (Jn.7:52).<sup>8</sup>

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus acknowledged that the rulers of the Jews in Jerusalem studied the scriptures and set their hope on the Law of Moses. However, Jesus also expressed to

them the same understanding of the relation between Moses and himself that we find in the Prologue:

Ye search the scriptures (*ἐραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς*), because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me...Think not that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me.

(Jn.5:39,45-46)

The Evangelist puts the reader of his Gospel in no doubt concerning the priority that Nicodemus's colleagues place upon the Law of Moses. They do not see the necessity of seeing Jesus for themselves, as Nicodemus does and as he suggests they should do. They study the Law of Moses which tells them that Jesus cannot be the "Messiah" or "the prophet" (Jn.7:52). Perhaps more significantly, in this same passage in Jn.7 the Jewish rulers, and particularly the Pharisees, express their contempt for those who do not study the Law. They said to their officers, when they had failed to arrest Jesus,

Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed.

(Jn.7:48,49)

When Nicodemus remonstrates with his colleagues at their out-of-hand dismissal of Jesus, they immediately abuse him by suggesting that he is a Galilaean, implying he is ignorant of the Law (Jn.7:52). This accusation by Nicodemus's colleagues sharpens the contrast between Nathanael the Galilaean, and Nicodemus the Pharisee and ruler of the Jews.

The question put to Nicodemus by his colleagues implies that

Galilaeans, like the 'am ha 'aretz, were unlearned in the scriptures. His colleagues advise Nicodemus to study the scriptures in order that he may learn that the prophet does not come out of Galilee." The Pharisees assume that Galilaeans are ignorant of the Law of Moses and they use the term synonymously with "sinners"; "accursed"; "Samaritan", as a term of abuse implying ignorance of the Law of Moses. This is how the Fourth Evangelist described the Jews' reaction to Jesus' teaching:

The Jews therefore marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?

(Jn.7:15)

As their hostility increased they called him a Samaritan, a term they linked with demon possession (Jn.8:48).

The Fourth Evangelist shows that the Pharisees despised Jesus' followers not only because they believed in him but also because they came mainly from the ranks of the am ha 'aretz. On the evidence of the Fourth Gospel the majority who believe in Jesus are those whom the Pharisees consider to be ignorant of the Law of Moses. For example, in Jn.3 and Jn.4 the Evangelist juxtaposes dialogues that Jesus had with representatives from opposite ends of Jewish society. In Jn.3 there is Nicodemus; a Pharisee; a ruler of the Jews in Jerusalem; and the teacher of Israel. In Jn.4, there is a Samaritan woman, an adulteress (Jn.4:18). This woman expresses the popular Messianic hope of the Samaritans which admits her present lack of knowledge of the Law of Moses (Jn.4:25).

Just as Jesus revealed to Nathanael the Galilean that he was



the Son of man, so also he revealed to the Samaritan woman that he was the Messiah (Jn.4:26). There is evidence in Jn.4 that the Fourth Evangelist wishes his reader to know that Jesus' followers come from that part of Jewish society which the Pharisees considered to be ignorant of the Law, "accursed". Firstly, the Evangelist tells us that Jesus had to leave Judaea for Galilee because he was baptizing more disciples than John and word got to the Pharisees (Jn.4:1-3). Secondly, the Evangelist explains to the reader that Jesus had taken an extraordinary step, approaching a Samaritan woman to ask for water.

The Samaritan woman therefore saith unto him,  
How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink  
of me, which am a Samaritan woman? (For Jews  
have no dealings with Samaritans.)  
(Jn.4:9)

Thirdly, the Evangelist describes the shock of Jesus' disciples when they see him speaking with a woman (Jn.4:27). Fourthly, the Evangelist describes the positive reaction by many in the Samaritans to the witness of the woman and to the words of Jesus:

And from that city many of the Samaritans  
believed on him because of the word of the  
woman...And many more believed because of  
his word; and they said to the woman, Now  
we believe, not because of thy speaking:  
for we have heard for ourselves, and know  
that this is indeed the Saviour of the world.  
(Jn.4:39,41,42)

Fifthly, the Evangelist describes the favourable reception that the Galilaeans offer to Jesus. This was anticipated by the reception he received in the Samaritan city. At this point, the Evangelist poignantly suggests to the reader that the Pharisees class the Galilaean Jews, along with the Samaritans, as those who

have no knowledge of the Law and are accursed. The Evangelist reinterprets a proverbial saying, concerning the prophet without honour, which we find in the Synoptic Gospels.

For the sake of clarity I will now quote the opening verses of Jn.4, which express the opposition of the Pharisees in Jerusalem and juxtapose those verses with the Evangelist's summary of the way the Galilaeans received Jesus.

When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John...he left Judaea, and departed again into Galilee. And he must needs pass through Samaria...And after the two days he went forth from thence into Galilee. For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. So when he came into Galilee, the Galilaeans received him, having seen all the things that he did in Jerusalem at the feast: for they also went unto the feast.<sup>10</sup>

(Jn.4:1-4,43-45)

Beyond Jn.4, when Jesus returns to Jerusalem for another Jewish festival, the Evangelist tells us that the Jews there seek to kill him (Jn.5:18). In Jn.6 Jesus is again in Galilee where the atmosphere is very different. The Galilaean Jews seek to make him king (Jn.6:15), and in the synagogue at Capernaum Jesus taught freely without any threat to his life. At the opening of Jn.7 the Evangelist reminds the reader that the Jews in Judaea sought to kill him, but that he was safe in Galilee.

And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Judaea, because the Jews sought to kill him.

(Jn.7:1)

Our Evangelist focuses the reader's attention on the attitude toward Jesus of those who study the Law on the one hand, and the

attitude toward Jesus of those whom the Pharisees and rulers consider to be ignorant of the Law on the other hand. This enables the reader to grasp the significance of the Pharisees' contempt for Jesus' disciples.

According to the Fourth Gospel the Pharisees set themselves up as a religious elite; rulers who seek glory from men by attaching so much importance to their knowledge of, and observance of, the Law of Moses in contrast to the ignorance of the common people.

Thus Jesus asks the religious leaders,

How can ye believe, which receive glory one of another, and the glory that cometh from the only God ye seek not?  
(Jn.5:44)

The Evangelist informs his reader, at the conclusion of his account of Jesus' public ministry, of the reason why those rulers like Nicodemus who were tempted to believe in Jesus could not bring themselves to openly confess their belief,

Even of the rulers many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God.<sup>11</sup>  
(Jn.12:42,43)

To sum up, Nicodemus represents those who set their hope on Moses and upon the study of scripture. He is a Pharisee and a ruler of the Jews in Jerusalem. Among the rulers and among the Pharisees there is a division, because some rulers and some Pharisees among them believe in Jesus (Jn.9:16;12:42). However, the Fourth Evangelist explains that these believers do not seek God's glory because they do not openly confess their faith for



fear of being banned from the synagogue. In other words, they do not wish to lose the respect they receive from others as those who observe and study the Torah as disciples of Moses (see Jn.9:28).

To confess faith in Jesus would mean banishment from the synagogue and fellowship only with the disciples of Jesus whom the disciples of Moses consider to be no better than the 'am ha 'aretz; those who are ignorant of the Law. The Johannine understanding of the vision of God in Jesus would turn the world of Nicodemus upside down because this vision gives eternal life to anyone who believes (Jn.3:14,15). According to the Fourth Gospel the disciple of Jesus is the true disciple of Moses because Moses, like John the Baptist, bore witness to Jesus. This means that Nathanael the Galilaean interprets the Law of Moses correctly, whereas Nicodemus the ruler of the Jews does not.

(e) The way in which Jesus expresses the relation of Nathanael and Nicodemus to Israel sheds more light on the contrasting pictures of these two figures. We can see this in the light of Jesus' opening words to Nathanael in comparison with his opening words to Nicodemus. When Jesus first saw Nathanael he said "Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" Through this comment Nathanael believed in Jesus and Jesus promised him a vision like the one Jacob received at Bethel. In contrast, Jesus' opening words to Nicodemus were,

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

(Jn.3:3)

The phrase to "see the kingdom of God" (ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν

τοῦ Θεοῦ ) is unique in the New Testament. Much more common is the phrase to "enter into the kingdom of God". Jesus used this phrase in v.5 when repeating what he said to Nicodemus in v.3.

Therefore, the Fourth Evangelist is aware of the more common phrase in the gospel tradition (see particularly Mt.18:3) but chose to refer initially to the vision of the kingdom of God. One explanation for this could be a link with a mystical interpretation of Jacob's vision in the Wisdom of Solomon. In Wisd.Sol.10 we read:

When a righteous man was a fugitive from a brother's wrath, wisdom guided him in straight paths; she shewed him God's kingdom, and gave him knowledge of holy things (ἐδείξεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν ἁγίων).  
(Wisd. Sol. 10:10)

Jacob was not only able to see the kingdom of God, but also to gain knowledge of the secrets of the heavenly world, or perhaps to gain knowledge of the holy angels.<sup>12</sup> What is clear is that this knowledge is not available to Jacob except by special revelation. This same kind of knowledge is referred to in Jn.3:12 where Jesus continues his dialogue with Nicodemus:

If I told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things (τὰ ἐπουράνια )?<sup>13</sup>  
(Jn.3:12)

The implication seems to be that although "the teacher of Israel" studies the scriptures, including those texts which involve mystical interpretations of the vision of the open heaven, knowledge of the heavenly world is not available to Nicodemus because he does not see Jesus as the one who descends from heaven to reveal God to men. He is not the true Israelite but Nathanael

is, because Nathanael believes that Jesus is the Son of God. Therefore the vision of God and the mysteries of the heavenly world are available to Nathanael, but not, as yet, to Nicodemus.

However, all is not lost for Nicodemus; if only he can come to understand that the one who is lifted up on the cross is the heavenly Son of man who, in this way, ascends back to heaven (Jn.3:14 and see 6:62). This brings us to the final point of similarity between the figures of Nathanael and Nicodemus in the Fourth Gospel.

(f) The Son of man sayings that Nathanael and Nicodemus receive interpret scripture passages which our Evangelist links to the vision of the open heaven. At the beginning of this chapter I said that the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and in Jn.3:13,14 have their significance and importance in relation to the exclusive statement made at the end of the Prologue concerning the vision of God (Jn.1:18). Each of the points of similarity between the figures of Nathanael and Nicodemus focuses our attention on rival claims to authority through different interpretations of Old Testament vision texts.

According to the Fourth Evangelist the Pharisees and rulers of the Jews set their hope on Moses, but they interpreted the scriptures wrongly. Nathanael also set great store on the scriptures. Philip introduced Jesus to him with the words, "We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write...." When Nathanael saw Jesus he believed in him and was promised the same vision of God in Jesus that Jacob had seen. Therefore, Jesus calls Nathanael the true Israelite, but



Nicodemus's authority as "the teacher of Israel" is called into question by Jesus. He does not share the same faith as Nathanael. Therefore he cannot see the kingdom of God which the Fourth Gospel interprets as the vision of the open heaven.

We must now turn to the Son of man saying in Jn.3:14 in particular and look at the way the Evangelist reinterprets the Synoptic Son of man sayings, and also existing interpretative traditions within Judaism, in order to present his understanding of the vision of God in Jesus. This Johannine interpretation of scriptures, challenges the authority of Nicodemus, a Pharisee, a ruler of the Jews, and the teacher of Israel.

## 2 : THE ASCENT OF THE SON OF MAN

And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him may have eternal life.  
(Jn.3:14,15)

According to the Synoptic Gospels, towards the close of his ministry, Jesus predicted that the Son of man must suffer betrayal, rejection by the Jews, and death by crucifixion. These Son of man sayings are usually referred to as passion-sayings. The Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 reinterprets the Synoptic parousia-type Son of man saying, whereas in Jn.3:14 reinterprets the Synoptic passion-type Son of man saying. This type of saying in the Fourth Gospel comes much earlier in Jesus' ministry than in the Synoptic Gospels, but it anticipates three other Son of man sayings in the Gospel which, taken together, have the ingredients of Jesus' betrayal, rejection and death. In Jn.8:28 Jesus is speaking to the Jews,

When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am he.

In John 12:23,24, Jesus says openly (not, as in the Synoptic Gospels, privately to his disciples), that the Son of man must suffer death:

The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit.  
(Jn.12:23,24)

The multitude heard this and understood that Jesus was referring to his death (Jn.12:34). In Jn.13:31 Jesus refers to the

glorification of the Son of man in the context of his own betrayal. Jesus gives this final Son of man saying immediately after Judas has gone out to betray him (v.30). In order to confirm the association of the glorification of the Son of man with Jesus' betrayal, the Evangelist reminds the reader of Judas' departure in v.31.

The reference to the lifting up of the Son of man in Jn.3:14 stands closest to Jn.8:28 where the same verb occurs (*ὑψοῦν*). However, the *ὑψωθῆναι* in Jn.3:14 parallels *ἀναβέβηκεν* in v.13. The saying in Jn.3:14 short-circuits the linear division of death, then resurrection, then ascension, through the use of the verb *ὑψωθῆναι*. This can mean either to be lifted up on a cross, or to be exalted to heaven. The verb *ὑψοῦν* is used in the latter sense in Acts:

This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses. Being therefore at the right hand of God exalted (*ὑψωθείς*).  
(Acts 2:32,33)

The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt (*ὑψωσεν*) at his right hand to be a Prince and Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins. And we are witnesses of these things.<sup>14</sup>  
(Acts.5:30-32)

The Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel which refer to the 'glorification' (*δοξασθῆναι*) of that figure also imply his exaltation at the moment when he is lifted up on the Cross. The two verbs *ὑψωθῆναι* and *δοξασθῆναι* which we find in Jn.8:28; 12:23,24; and 13:31, appear together in the Septuagint version of Isa.52:13, a much used testimonium for the Suffering Servant



figure in the New Testament.<sup>15</sup>

*Ἴδοὺ, συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται,  
καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα.*

In the Synoptic Son of man sayings the expression Son of man is closely associated with Jesus' sufferings.<sup>16</sup> This association is not abandoned in the Fourth Gospel but in Jn.3:14 the Evangelist reinterprets the Synoptic passion sayings to the same end that caused him to reinterpret, in Jn.1:51, the Synoptic Son of man parousia sayings. The purpose in both cases is to emphasise a salvation by revelation through the vision of the Son of man on earth.

We saw in the previous chapter of this thesis that the term *δόξα* is used in the Fourth Gospel with reference to Jesus' signs. The glory of God and the glory of the Son appear interchangeably. According to our Evangelist the word *δόξα* is coterminous with the vision of God in Jesus. For example, we saw that the first sign at Cana was a manifestation of Jesus' glory which caused his disciples to believe in him (Jn.2:11). This manifestation was a fulfilment of the promised vision to the disciples in Jn.1:51. The lifting up of Jesus upon the cross is a further manifestation of Jesus' glory which the Fourth Gospel interprets as the vision of the Son of man ascending back to heaven (Jn.3:13,6:62).

According to Jn.3:14 Moses himself bore witness to this same vision when he lifted up the brazen serpent on a pole (the Septuagint reads *σημεῖον*), in order that the Israelites might look and be healed from the serpent bites in the wilderness.<sup>17</sup> The Johannine hermeneutic behind the allusion to Nu.21:9 is very

similar to that of the allusion to Gen.28:12 in Jn.1:51. The Evangelist uses contemporary Jewish interpretations of a disputed Old Testament text. In this way he is able to reinterpret the gospel tradition concerning the Son of man figure in order to show that Jesus is the one whom the true Israelites are to look at.

We saw that the Wisdom of Solomon interprets Jacob's Bethel vision similarly to the Fourth Gospel:<sup>19</sup> This apocryphal work also interprets Nu.21:7 in a way similar to our Gospel. The writer explains that the Israelites were not healed by looking at the serpent lifted up. They were healed by God "the Saviour of all".

For he that turned toward it was not saved  
because of that which was beheld, but because  
of thee, the Saviour of all.

(Wisd.Sol.16:7,8)

We find the same interpretation in an early rabbinic writing. The Exodus Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael shows a similar apologetic motive to the passage in the Wisdom of Solomon:

It was not assuredly the uplifted arms of  
Moses that invigorated Israel and laid Amalek  
low. Israel looked at him, and, so long as  
he lifted up his arms, they believed on Him  
who had given Moses the command to act thus.  
God it was who did the signs and wonders on  
their behalf. Nor was it the serpent that  
killed and gave life. Israel looked, and so  
long as Moses lifted up the serpent, they  
believed on Him who had commanded Moses to  
act thus. It was God who healed them.

(Mekilta on Exod.17:11)

There is a similar interpretation of Nu.21:8,9 in the Mishnah. In a passage from Rosh ha-Shanah the emphasis lies in the lifting up of Moses' arms, and in the gaze of the Israelites upwards:

It is written and it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed, etc. Now did the hands of Moses wage war or crush the enemy? Not so; only the text signifies that so long as Israel turned their thoughts above and subjected their hearts to their father in heaven they prevailed, but otherwise they fell. The same lesson may be taught thus. It is written, *make thee a fiery serpent and set it up on a pole, and it shall come to pass that everyone that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live.* Now did the serpent kill or did the serpent keep alive? No; what it indicates is that when Israel turned their thoughts above and subjected their hearts to their Father in heaven, they were healed, but otherwise they pined away.<sup>19</sup>

(Mishnah Rosh ha-Shanah 3.8)

The allusion to Numbers 21:8,9 in Jn.3:14 helps the Evangelist to interpret the vision of the open heaven as a revelation available to all Israelites who look up in faith to Jesus on the cross. In the light of the contrast we have seen between the figures of Nathanael and Nicodemus, this interpretation of the vision of God in Jesus becomes a significant challenge to Nicodemus' authority as "the teacher of Israel". In the Fourth Gospel, the Pharisees think those who believe in Jesus are ignorant of the Law. They said as much to Nicodemus. However, Nathanael the Galilaean is called by Jesus the true Israelite and he is promised the same vision that Jacob saw (Jn.1:51).<sup>20</sup> The Johannine interpretation of salvation by revelation shows that many in Israel, whom the Pharisees of the Fourth Gospel consider to be "accursed", are able to see the vision of God in Jesus. When they, like many Israelites in the wilderness, look up in faith at Jesus on the cross, they see what Moses and the prophets saw. Their witness has the authority of



Moses and the prophets. In this way the authority of "the teacher of Israel" is undermined.

I am not suggesting that many in Israel do necessarily turn away from the authority of the Pharisees to accept instead the authority of Jesus. I am suggesting that our Evangelist claims that in Jesus the vision of the open heaven is available to "whosoever believeth". This is the challenge to the authority of the Pharisees.

To sum up, in the first two sections of this chapter I have focused my argument on the evidence in the Fourth Gospel that the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the open heaven challenges the authority of the Jewish religious leaders. In particular, this interpretation challenges the authority of the Pharisees. This most probably reflects the historical situation of the Johannine community more than the situation in the time of Jesus. We shall see the influence of this later historical situation more clearly in my third section dealing with the Son of man saying in Jn.3:13.

### 3 : THE HEAVENLY JOURNEY

In his commentary on the Fourth Gospel R. Bultmann suggests that the Son of man saying in Jn.3:13 is most likely,

directed against the various types of  
(visionary) heavenly journeys, which were  
commonly expounded in Jewish apocalyptic  
and in the speculation of Merkaba.<sup>21</sup>

We saw in my previous chapter that the vision of the open heaven, in certain apocalyptic writings, involved the ascent of the visionary into the heavens. We saw also that the goal of the heavenly journey was the vision of God. The ascent of the mystic into heaven allows the visionary to claim a vision of God without implying that God descends to earth to reveal himself. Again we saw in my previous chapter that the vision passages in the Old Testament are ambivalent at several points concerning who or what the visionary sees. There is a similar ambivalence within scripture concerning the journey into heaven by man.

There are accounts of the departure into heaven by Enoch and by Elijah at the end of their lives on earth (Gen.5:24; 2 Kings 2:11). From these passages legends have grown around Old Testament heroes to include a description of their ascent into heaven. For example, legends within Judaism, of the rabbinic period and earlier, describe the ascent of Moses into heaven.<sup>22</sup> The apocalypses, attributed to such Old Testament figures as Enoch, Abraham, and Isaiah, describe the heavenly journeys of these heroes of scripture. In the Ascension of Isaiah the seer describes the angelic opposition to Isaiah's ascent to the seventh

heaven, but God's voice protects the hero. The angels ask "How far will he ascend that dwelleth in the flesh?" But God replies to them "It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment" (Asc.Isa.9:12).

The three apocalyptic books attributed to Enoch all describe the hero's journey into heaven. The ascent described in I Enoch 14 pre-dates the Fourth Gospel, and those described in the Apocalypse of Abraham and in the Ascension of Isaiah are contemporary with our Gospel. Among these descriptions we should also include the New Testament Apocalypse of John. This work shares the same Christian tradition as the Fourth Gospel, and has many similarities with it, in contrast to the rest of the books in the New Testament. The Christian seer not only ascends to the throne vision but also gains knowledge of heavenly secrets, knowledge of the future (Rev.4:1,2).

The seer then gives an elaborate description of the one seated on the throne. We saw, in my previous chapter, a reluctance by some visionaries to describe the one seated on the throne. For example in I Enoch 14 the apocalyptic writer claims that "no one of the flesh" can see God (I Enoch 14:21).<sup>24</sup> In the Apocalypse of Abraham the seer describes the ascent of the patriarch into heaven on the wing of a pigeon at the moment when Abraham is about to offer a sacrifice to God (see Gen.15:17). Abraham ascends to "the heaven that is fixed on the firmaments". This is the place where the throne of God resides, but the angel who accompanies him, and strengthens him, tells Abraham that he cannot see "the Eternal One".



The angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon and he himself sat on the left wing of the turtledove...And he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flames. And we ascended as if (carried) by many winds to the heaven that is fixed on the expanses. And I saw on the air to whose height we had ascended a strong light which cannot be described... And I said to the angel, "Why is it you now brought me here? For now I can no longer see, because I am weakened and my spirit is departing from me. And he said to me, "Remain with me, do not fear. He whom you will see coming directly toward us in a great sound of sanctification is the Eternal One who has loved you. You will not look at him himself."<sup>25</sup>

(Apoc.Abr.15:2-5;16:1-3)

The seer and the angel both worship the eternal one. The angel teaches the seer to recite a song which will strengthen him for the vision and the knowledge that he seeks. The song concludes:

Receive me favourably, teach me, show me,  
and make known to your servant what you  
have promised me.

(Apoc. Abr. 17:21)

In the next chapter, the seer describes the vision of the merkabah and the living creatures who are there. The description shows the influence of the throne-visions in Ezek.1 and Isa.6. A voice addresses Abraham which comes out of the fire, in the divine presence upon the fiery chariot (Apoc.Abr.18:12-19:1 and see 17:1,2). And yet the seer admits that he sees no one, but only hears the voice:

And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying, "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said, "Here I am!" And he said, "Look at the expanses which are under the firmament to which you have now been directed and see that on no single expanse is there any other but the one whom you have searched for or who has loved you." And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses under me, the heavens, opened and I saw on the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire spread out and a light and dew and a multitude of angels and a host of the invisible glory, and up above the living creatures I had seen; I saw no one else there.

(Apoc.Abr.19:1-5)

There is probably an apologetic motive in this climax. Having ascended to the seventh heaven, the mystic saw the merkabah and the living creatures but concluded "I saw no one else there". According to Apoc.Abr.19:4 the heavens opened only after the seer had ascended to the seventh heaven, after the throne-vision. Ezek.1:1 reads "the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God", and the prophet then describes the vision of the merkabah and of the one seated upon the throne. In contrast, in this Apocalypse Abraham ascends to heaven, sees the throne of God and sees the wheels of the merkabah, but sees the heavens opened only when the voice of the Eternal One commands the visionary to look through the heavens to see that, except for the myriads of angels and the living creatures, there is only the Eternal One whom he cannot see. According to this seer the vision of the open heaven is not the vision of God.

The rest of the Apocalypse describes revelations to the seer of the mysteries of the heavens and of the things to come, including the destruction of the temple (Apoc.Abr.27:1-3), the punishment of the Gentiles, and the victory of the righteous

(Apoc.Abr.29ff). The Apocalypse of Abraham is a thoroughly Jewish work and there is little within it that would place this Apocalypse on the fringes of Judaism as a work suspected of heretical teaching. This work claims that Abraham, whom the Jews claim to be their father, ascended into heaven and gained knowledge of the heavenly world and of things to come.<sup>26</sup> The fact that this Apocalypse does not describe the one seated on the throne in the vision of the merkabah suggests that the seer takes a particular stance within Judaism concerning the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven. The seer not only claims that the Eternal One cannot be seen, but he also claims that there is no comparable figure in the heavens. The voice of the Eternal One says to Abraham,

Look at the expanses which are under the  
firmament to which you have now been  
directed and see that on no single expanse  
is there any other but the one whom you  
have searched for or who has loved you.  
(Apoc.Abr.19:3)

This raises the question of who this "other" comparable heavenly being could possibly be? Since the description of the throne vision takes much of its imagery from Ezek.1 and Isa.6, there is a strong possibility that the absence of any description of the human figure seated on the throne in Ezek.1:26 suggests that the Apocalypse of Abraham is anxious either to deny any anthropomorphic descriptions of God, or to deny that there is any other heavenly being, in human form, next to God.<sup>27</sup>

It is possible <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Baruch shares the same reluctance as the Apocalypse of Abraham when describing visions. This work uses the



same introduction that we find in Ezek.1:1. The seer hears God's voice, but there is no vision of God:

And afterward it happened that, behold, the heaven was opened, and I saw, and strength was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high...

(2 Baruch 22:1)

This seer does not describe an ascent into heaven. He underwent elaborate preparations for his vision, fasting for seven days in a cave (2 Baruch 21:1), bearing his <sup>s</sup>/<sub>l</sub> soul in prayer to the Lord. When he had finished, he received the vision of the open heaven, but no vision of God and no knowledge of the heavenly mysteries which surround the throne. Concerning this vision C. C. Rowland writes:

Unlike most of the occurrences of the open heaven in Jewish literature this is not followed by a vision of heavenly things, and this despite the fact that reference is made to the opportunity which Baruch had to see into the divine world. The introduction to the divine pronouncement is a verbatim reproduction of Ezekiel 1:1 ("the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God") but without any reference to a vision of God. Baruch merely hears the voice of God who answers his prayer.<sup>28</sup>

The apocalyptic visionary describes mystical journeys to heaven which take place during his life time. The visionary ascends to see the throne of God and to gain knowledge of the divine mysteries. He then descends to earth in possession of this secret knowledge. There are also apocalyptists who are reluctant to describe the vision of God, and who even deny that vision to man. There are also apocalyptists who deny the ascent of the visionary into heaven.

There are also passages in scripture which deny the vision of God to man, and there are passages in scripture which deny man the possibility of an ascent into heaven. For example, in Deuteronomy we read,

It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?...But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.  
(Deut.30:12,14)

And in Proverbs we read,

Who hath ascended up into heaven, and descended?  
Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in his garment? Who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou knowest?  
(Prov.30:4)

The passage from Deuteronomy refers to the purpose of the heavenly journey. The purpose is to return back to earth with knowledge of the will of God. The Deuteronimist denies the need for such a journey. The will of God is all that it is necessary for man to know, and that has been revealed to Israel already through the Torah. The passage from Proverbs emphasises that it is impossible for man to ascend into heaven.

Job expresses the limitations of man's knowledge. At several points the content of this superhuman knowledge is more clearly defined. For example, Job admits, in Job 28, that wisdom cannot be found on earth:

Where shall wisdom be found?  
And where is the place of understanding?  
Man knoweth not the price thereof;  
Neither is it found in the land of the living.  
(Job 28:12,13)

Then he concludes,

God understandeth the way thereof,  
And he knoweth the place thereof.  
For he looketh to the ends of the earth,  
And seeth under the whole heaven;  
To make a weight for the wind;  
Yea, he meteth out the waters by measure.  
When he made a decree for the rain,  
And a way for the lightning of the thunder;  
Then did he see it, and recount it;  
He established it, yea, and searched it out.  
(Job.28:23-27)

For similar lists of phenomena beyond human knowledge see Job 37:6-15 and chapters 38, 39. It is precisely this kind of knowledge which the apocalyptic visionary claims to have gained, either through his ascent to the heavenly world, or through the mediation of an angel. For example in I Enoch 41 we read that Enoch saw the cosmic secrets:

I saw all the secrets in heaven,...And there my eyes saw the secrets of lightning and thunder, and the mysteries of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow upon the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and the dew I saw there from where they proceed in that place and (how) from there they satiate the dust of the earth...etc.<sup>29</sup>  
(I Enoch 41:1,3)

According to 2 Baruch, similar cosmological secrets were revealed to Moses.

He also showed him, at that time, the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the raindrops...etc.  
(2 Baruch 59:5)

These lists reflect a common tradition of catalogues of cosmological revelations. A similar list appears in 4 Ezra but this time the apocalyptic seer follows the biblical wisdom and denies such knowledge to man. Uriel, the angelic messenger, sets



the seer three problems that he cannot possibly solve. First the angel says,

Go, weigh for me the weight of fire, or  
measure for me a measure of wind, or call  
back for me the day that is past.  
(4 Ezra 4:5)

The seer recognises the impossible nature of this request,

I answered and said, "Who of those that have  
been born can do this, that you ask me  
concerning these things?"<sup>30</sup>  
(4 Ezra 4:6)

A similar dialogue occurs between the angel and the seer in his second vision:

He said to me, "Count up for me those who have  
not yet come, and gather for me the scattered  
raindrops, and make the withered flowers bloom  
again for me; open for me the closed chambers,  
and bring forth for me the winds shut up in  
them, or show me the picture of a voice; and  
then I will explain to you the travail that  
you ask to understand."  
"O sovereign Lord," I said, "who is able to  
know these things except he whose dwelling is  
not with men?"  
(4 Ezra.5:35-38)

The items in these lists in 4 Ezra refer specifically to cosmological secrets. There are other secrets concerning heavenly things, and concerning the time of the end, which the seer does receive. He is asked to keep those revelations secret and to seal them in a book. This suggests there were disputes about the kind of knowledge that could be revealed.<sup>31</sup>

To sum up, we find, in the apocalyptic writings contemporary with the Fourth Gospel, controversies within apocalyptic Judaism itself. These controversies reflect those biblical passages which show some ambivalence on such related issues as the vision of God;

the ascent into heaven; and the amount of knowledge and the kind of knowledge that can be revealed to man.

From the recognition of controversies within Judaism on these issues, we may be able to recognise certain schools of thought linked with particular issues. For example, C. C. Rowland notes that in the Apocalypses of Daniel, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch there are no descriptions of the visionary's ascent into heaven. On the various types of apocalyptic visions C. C. Rowland writes,

While there seems to be a degree of uniformity in the way in which the apocalypse is constructed, the same cannot be said for the way in which the divine revelations were communicated to the apocalyptic seer. Although there is an underlying theme in the apocalypses that the seer has direct access to the divine counsels, the mode of revelation appears to be influenced very much by the situation and outlook of the particular author.<sup>32</sup>

We know that 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch are two apocalyptic works of the late first century, contemporary with the Fourth Gospel. A major part of each of these apocalyptic books consists of dialogues between the visionary and the angelic messenger. Whilst there are differences in the theologies of these two works, there are many similarities of content which several scholars suggest show an inter-dependence between these two apocalypses.<sup>33</sup> In relation to our Gospel 4 Ezra is particularly significant. The seer does not describe an ascent into heaven because he claims that man cannot make the heavenly journey. He also claims that some heavenly things cannot be revealed to man. The angel Uriel acknowledges that the seer cannot answer his questions and so he anticipates the seer's reply:

Perhaps you would have said to me "I never  
went down into the deep, nor as yet into  
hell, neither did I ever ascend into heaven."  
(4 Ezra 4:8)

C. C. Rowland comments on the contrast between 4 Ezra and the  
Apocalypse of Abraham together with the Enoch cycle of literature:

In contrast to Enoch and Abraham, God  
explicitly denies that Ezra has ever  
ascended into the heavenly world.<sup>34</sup>

M. E. Stone suggests that 4 Ezra 4:8 is a denial made against  
those mystics who claim to have ascended into heaven and to have  
gained certain kinds of knowledge of the heavenly world. He  
points out that the subject matter of the revelation in 2 Baruch  
and in I Enoch ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> cosmological, or deals with heavenly geography,  
and ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> the highlight of "major revelational episodes". This, M.  
E. Stone points out, is not the case in 4 Ezra. We saw that the  
lists in 4 Ez. 4:5-7 and in 4 Ez. 5:36-38 show striking similarities  
with the cosmological lists in 2 Baruch 59:5-11; I Enoch 41 etc.,  
but in 4 Ezra these lists represent the kind of knowledge that the  
seer cannot comprehend and which cannot be revealed to him. M. E.  
Stone writes,

In view of this, the deliberate use in 4 Ezra  
of a list of the type found as the very  
consummation of a revelation of secret  
knowledge is of considerable significance,  
particularly because it serves not to  
catalogue the secrets made known to the seer,  
but to define those areas of knowledge beyond  
human ken. Such application serves to high-  
light and emphasise this denial. Indeed, it  
is so daring a re-application of traditional  
forms as to be almost polemical. This  
supports the conclusion...that a rejection  
of an esoteric, speculative tradition can  
here be detected. This surmise receives  
further confirmation from a general consideration  
of the Ezra apocalypse. The absence of



heavenly journeys, of visions of the Throne of Glory, of astronomical speculation and the like all seem to reflect the rejection of this type of knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

There is no throne-vision in 4 Ezra, and what is more, there is a statement by the seer admitting that the secrets of the Throne of Glory cannot be revealed to him. He prays,

O Lord who inhabits eternity, whose eyes are exalted and whose upper chambers are in the air, whose throne is beyond measure and whose glory is beyond comprehension, before whom the hosts of angels stand trembling and at whose command they are changed to wind and fire.<sup>36</sup>  
(4 Ezra 8:20-22)

Therefore, among the apocalyptic writings there is evidence of differing views concerning the mode of visions; the content of visions, particularly in respect of the vision of God; and the kind of knowledge that can be revealed. Each of these issues are closely related to one another, and each one receives attention in the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Evangelist denies the possibility of the direct vision of God to man (Jn.1:18,5:37;6:46). The Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 refers to the vision of the open heaven to explain that Jesus, the heavenly Son of man, descends to reveal God to men. The Fourth Gospel also denies man the possibility of the mystical journey to heaven and back, according to Jn.3:13. In the same dialogue in Jn.3, there is a saying by Jesus which resembles the type of cosmological knowledge we have already met in certain apocalyptic writings. According to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus tells Nicodemus that a certain kind of knowledge is beyond his understanding:

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou  
 hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not  
 whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.  
 (Jn.3:8)

Our Evangelist takes a stance on each of the three issues that I have mentioned. The most significant issue is the impossibility of the direct vision of God. The exclusive Son of man saying in Jn.3:13, like the saying in Jn.1:51, has particular significance in relation to the polemical statement in Jn.1:18 concerning the Johannine understanding of the vision of God. The dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus in Jn.3 has similarities of form and content with the dialogue between Uriel and Ezra in 4 Ezra 4. These similarities are strong enough to suggest that the Fourth Evangelist is using the dramatic form of an angelophany in order to show his reader what the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13 claim, that Jesus is the heavenly Son of man figure who descends from the presence of God in order to communicate the heavenly vision to those who believe.

In the Apocalypse the angel Uriel came to the seer and said:

Thy heart hath utterly failed thee in regarding  
 this world, and thinkest thou to comprehend the  
 way of the Most High?  
 (4 Ez. 4:2)

Compare Jesus' words to Nicodemus:

If I told you earthly things, and ye believe  
 not how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly  
 things?<sup>37</sup>  
 (Jn.3:12)

In both the Apocalypse and the Gospel the person being told of his limited knowledge is identified as a renowned teacher of Israel: according to the Apocalypse the seer is the scribe Ezra, the

founder of the Second Temple; according to Jn.3:10, Nicodemus is the "ruler of the Jews", "the teacher of Israel". Both teachers are addressed by heavenly messengers. This is explicit in 4 Ezra in the figure of the angel Uriel. It is implicit in Jn.3:13,14 where Jesus claims to be the heavenly Son of man figure who descended from heaven. Elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel we meet the recurring theme of Jesus as the one "sent by the Father" (Jn.3:17,34;5:36,38;6:29,38,57;7:29;8:42;10:36;11:42;17:3,8,18,21,23,25;20:21). He alone reveals the Father (Jn.1:18, compare 5:37,6:46;14:6,9). In particular, we can compare the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 which expresses an apocalyptic-type vision of the open heaven with the Son of man figure and linked with the angelophany at Bethel. In addition to the above similarities between the two dialogues, there is a parallel in the progression of the arguments.

Firstly, there is an enquiry concerning the world above. This is implied by the initial comment that the superior being addresses to the inferior enquirer. In 4 Ez.4:2 the angelic messenger asks,

Thinkest thou to comprehend the way of the  
Most High?

Compare Jesus' words to Nicodemus in Jn.3:3.

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man  
be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.

We have seen that the term the "kingdom of God" in Jn.3:3,5 signifies the heavenly world. Jesus' words to Pilate show that the Fourth Gospel points to a supramundane kingdom of a heavenly



Messiah;

My Kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight,...but now is my kingdom not from hence.  
(Jn.18:36)

Secondly, the angelic messenger shows his superiority by giving puzzles, concerning this world, which the inferior human being cannot answer.

4 Ez.4:5,6 reads,

Then said he unto me, Go to, weigh me a weight of fire, or measure me a measure of wind, or call me again the day that is past. Then answered I and said, Who of the sons of men is able to do this, that thou shouldest ask me of such things?

Compare Jn.3:4-9; Nicodemus shows his lack of understanding on the question of rebirth. He replies in v.4,

How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?

Jesus then confronts Nicodemus with the mystery of the wind in v.8

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.

Nicodemus admits his ignorance and says "How can these things be?"

Thirdly, the angelic messenger points out that the mysteries he posed all concerned familiar issues yet no answer could be given to him. In 4 Ez.4:9 we read,

Nevertheless now have I asked thee but only of the fire and wind, and of the day, things wherethrough thou hast passed, and without which thou canst not be, and yet hast thou given me no answer of them.

In Jn.3:10,11 Jesus reminds Nicodemus that he has spoken to him concerning the nature of the wind and the recalling of time past (see Jn.3:4,8 and compare 4 Ezra 4:9). Jesus asks Nicodemus,

Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness.<sup>38</sup>

(Jn.3:10,11)

Fourthly, and finally, the climax for both dialogues is the claim by the angelic messenger that because the man cannot understand his own world, he cannot possibly begin to understand the heavenly world:

In 4 Ez.4:10,11 we read,

He said moreover unto me, Thine own things, that are grown up with thee, canst thou not know; how then can thy vessel comprehend the way of the Most High? and how can he that is already worn out with the corrupted world understand incorruption?

Compare Jn.3:12:

If I told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things?

To sum up, the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus has the dramatic form of an angelophany. The question that arises from this is why the Evangelist chooses this dramatic form for Jesus' interview with Nicodemus? The similar stance that we find in the Fourth Gospel and in 4 Ezra on the issues of the vision of God; mystical ascents; and heavenly knowledge, can be our clue. The Evangelist's purpose in giving Jesus the role of the angelic messenger and in giving Nicodemus the role of a man who seeks a

vision of the heavenly world, is to deny to this "teacher of Israel" what is promised to the "true Israelite" who believes that Jesus is the Word become flesh.

There are two key points in 4 Ezra. Firstly, the denial of the ascent into heaven in 4 Ez.4:8; and secondly, the denial of the vision of God in 4 Ez.8:20. The first thing to note is the use of a technical term in 4 Ez.4:8 in which the seer is denied the possibility of an ascent to heaven. Instead of "heaven" we should read "paradise". According to the Armenian version of the Ezra apocalypse, together with two manuscripts of Ethiopic, Latin MS.L., where the Revised Version of the Apocrypha reads "climb up into heaven", we should read "entered paradise". The rabbinic term for paradise- $\text{ִּיְרֵד}$  is a technical, esoteric term within mystical Judaism, and particularly so when accompanied by the verb 'to enter'. Like the verbs 'ascending-descending', the verbs 'to see' and 'to enter' used with  $\text{ִּיְרֵד}$  are common in Jewish mystical texts. For example, the account of the Four Rabbis who entered paradise is well known.

Our Rabbis taught: Four men entered Paradise, namely, Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma, Aher and R. Akiba. R. Akiba said to them: When ye arrive at the stone of pure marble, say not, Water, water! For it is said: He that speaketh falsehood shall not be established before mine eyes.  
(Hagigah 14b)

This rabbinic account shows how three of the rabbis failed to return and concludes "R. Akiba departed unhurt". One version uses the term more appropriate to merkabah mysticism to say that R. Akiba "ascended and descended in peace".<sup>37</sup>

The account of a journey to paradise in Hagigah 14b, together



with Paul's account in 2 Corinthians 12:1-12, are said to be the earliest references to the term "paradise" signifying a mystical ascent. In his letter to the Corinthian Church Paul describes his journey to the "third heaven" in his boast of visions and revelations. The object of this boasting is to assert his authority over the Corinthian believers. Similarly, the rabbinic account asserts Rabbi Akiba's authority over the other rabbis. Akiba is the only one to return unhurt, and he advises the others about the deception of "the stones of pure marble", implying that he alone has sufficient knowledge of the heavenly vision to ensure a safe return. Therefore R. Akiba is adept in the practice of heavenly journeys and in the contemplation of the merkabah within the confines of rabbinic Judaism.

So R. Akiba, a central figure in the world of Judaism, is also the legitimate representative of a mysticism within the boundaries of rabbinic Judaism. This is apparently why Akiba and Ishmael, who was his companion and also his adversary in halakhic matters, served as the central pillars and chief mouthpieces in the later pseudepigraphic literature devoted to the mysteries of the Merkabah.<sup>40</sup>

According to the Rabbinic writings there is another area related to Jewish mysticism where Akiba played a prominent role. It concerns the arcane discipline of the rabbis. The rabbis claimed that R. Akiba was responsible for prohibitions on the exposition of certain scriptures associated with mystical traditions within Judaism. According to M.Hagigah 2:1 (compare T.Hagigah 2:1,7), certain Old Testament passages were restricted for exposition only by those with sufficient expertise. Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1 and 10 could only be taught in the presence of one

person who was sufficiently qualified. The Palestinian Talmud states that these prohibitions go back to Akiba (j.Hag.77a)<sup>41</sup>

C. C. Rowland in his book *The Open Heaven* gives a detailed study of the significance of Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1 for the esoteric tradition in early rabbinic Judaism at least from the time of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai to Rabbi Akiba. He argues that the traditions about the exposition of the chariot-chapter show that Johanan formed part of the chain of recognised exponents, and he concludes that,

Interest in God's throne and its attendants has an important part to play in the apocalypses, and moreover, the idea of revelation of what is hidden, the heart of apocalyptic, is found in the rabbinic expositions of Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1.<sup>42</sup>

The role that Akiba plays according to the rabbinic writings, concerning the arcane discipline of the rabbis, leads us to our second clue from 4 Ezra as to the significance of Jesus' dialogue with Nicodemus.

C. C. Rowland suggests that the passage in 4 Ezra 8:20ff represents the same school of thought that we find in the Mishnah. Commenting on 4 Ezra 8:20 he writes,

The nearest parallel to this in contemporary literature is...the second half of the mishnah dealing with the study of esoteric subjects, particularly the first chapters of Ezekiel and Genesis. The second half of M. Hagigah 2.1 is a warning to those who would indulge in speculation about the things of God to confine themselves to matters which are within their competence. Both 4 Ezra 8:20 and the second half of the mishnah seem to be products of schools of thought, which viewed with suspicion the claims of those who dared to imagine the invisible God and attempt descriptions of the one who surpassed all

human language.<sup>43</sup>

On the testimony of the Fourth Gospel Nicodemus represents the rulers of the Jews and he is marked out as "the teacher of Israel". He is also a Pharisee and this party dominated Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Here we can begin to see why our Evangelist describes in Jn.3 an interview between this teacher and Jesus similar to an angelophany. Firstly, this passage reveals to the reader the true nature of Jesus whilst showing the reader that this religious leader within Judaism cannot receive the revelation of Jesus' heavenly origin. Secondly, the denial of an ascent into heaven by anyone but the heavenly Son of man implies a distinctive interpretation of the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven which is a challenge to the rabbis' interpretation of those vision texts which are carefully guarded in the rabbinic arcane discipline.

Whether the religious leaders within Judaism of the late first century accepted and practised mystical ascents into heaven to gain esoteric doctrine, or whether they claimed visions in which angelic messengers revealed secrets to them, these teachers did seek to confine such claims to an elite within Judaism. The rabbinic authorities probably had a vested interest in maintaining their arcane discipline from which they derived, in some measure, their authority as teachers of the law of Moses.<sup>44</sup>

The Johannine interpretation of the vision of the open heaven makes that vision possible to Nathanael the Galilaean, to the man born blind and to the Samaritan woman. The Son of man saying in Jn.3:14 claims that the vision of the open heaven is possible to



all Israelites who believe that Jesus is the heavenly Son of man. The teacher and ruler of the Jews must be baptized into the new community if he is to see the kingdom of God. This act would be a confession that salvation by revelation is possible to many within Israel, not merely to a few. For Nicodemus this would mean renouncing his own authority as the teacher of Israel and therefore forsaking "the glory of man" for the glory of God (see Jn.5:44;12:43 and compare Jn.9:39-41). According to our Evangelist this particular teacher of Israel was prepared to express some degree of sympathy and support for Jesus because of the signs he performed, but once his colleagues noticed, they were quick to draw suspicion upon Nicodemus's qualifications as a teacher of Israel, and to taunt him with the suggestion that he was no better than a Galilaean! (Jn.7:45ff).

To sum up, Nicodemus represents, in particular, those religious leaders in Judaism who were willing to explore the consequences of a sect within Judaism which expressed a belief in Jesus, the Messiah. In the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus the Evangelist shows in dramatic form that Jesus is not an earthly Davidic Messiah but a heavenly Messiah. The Fourth Gospel identifies Jesus the Messiah and the expression the Son of man in the gospel tradition, with the figure in human form in the throne visions of Ezek.1:26 and Dan.7:13.<sup>45</sup>

We must now turn to the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 which Jesus addressed to his opponents, the rulers of the Jews in Jerusalem. In this dialogue we will see once more the historical situation of the Johannine community. The Johannine

interpretation of the vision of the open heaven challenges the authority of the Pharisees in a way that looks suspiciously like the product of a sect whose teaching is heretical, threatening the monotheistic religion of Judaism.

## CHAPTER THREE

## JOHN 5:27 THE AUTHORITY OF THE SON OF MAN

*καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν,  
ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν.*

And he gave him authority to execute judgement,  
because he is the Son of man.

This Son of man saying describes the eschatological Judge of both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. This figure is a heavenly being, now hidden, who will appear at the end of time on the clouds of heaven to judge at the final judgment of the resurrection of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Daniel 7:9ff is the biblical basis for the apocalyptic Son of man traditions which give various interpretations of the "one like unto a son of man" in Daniel's vision (Dan.7:13). We can recognise the apocalyptic nature of the scriptural passage itself because there is a pseudonymous author who describes a heavenly vision, and an angelic messenger explains the meaning of the contents of the vision.<sup>2</sup> The visionary sees thrones in heaven for the "ancient of days" and for the "one like unto a son of man". In the Book of Daniel we have the only occurrence of this apocalyptic figure in scripture outside the New Testament. We also find in Daniel the first explicit reference in scripture to the resurrection of the dead.

And many of them that sleep in the dust of  
the earth shall awake, some to everlasting  
life, and some to shame and everlasting  
contempt.

(Dan.12:2)



The verses that immediately follow the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 reflect this same resurrection hope. The form in which Jesus expressed this hope seems to echo Dan.12:2.

Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.

(Jn.5:28,29)

In Jn.5:27-29 we have a description of the same future eschatological judgment of the Son of man as in Mark 13:26 and 14:62. I have argued that Jn.1:51 reinterprets the future judgment of the Son of man in Mk.14:62 as a present reality. Jn.5:27-29 would seem to contradict my earlier argument. Several commentators who see the perspective of a realised eschatology as a major theme of the Fourth Gospel suggest that those verses within the Gospel which describe a future final judgment must be the work of a later editor.<sup>3</sup> However, I do not think that Jn.5:27-29 is the work of an editor independent of our Evangelist. Unfortunately, those commentators who take Jn.5:27-29 to be the work of a different hand from the Evangelist have tended to assume that apocalypticism is concerned only with eschatology.<sup>4</sup> Our observations from the study of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13,14 show that the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven includes several other aspects of interest to the apocalypticist, of which eschatology is only one.

The intention of Jn.5:27-29 is to show how the Son is able to give life and to judge. The eschatological scene is secondary. The primary interest is in the authority of the Son of man figure

to raise the dead and to judge because these are the two functions which the Jews recognise to be the works of God.

The realities of present and future judgment do not demand an either-or situation for the Fourth Evangelist. Salvation and judgment become a present reality through the vision of God. Jesus is that vision because he is the Son of man who descended from heaven. The Fourth Evangelist places this Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 upon the lips of Jesus because he identifies the figure in Dan.7:13 with the Son of God, who claims equality with God in respect of the functions he performs. It will be necessary to repeat this argument at several points in this chapter in order to avoid any misunderstanding concerning the Johannine eschatological perspective. Unfortunately, the view that only "realised-eschatology" applies to the Fourth Gospel, has tended to dominate New Testament scholarship. More recent studies on the speculations involving the apocalyptic visions of the open heaven help to redress this imbalance, when the findings from these studies are applied to our Gospel. An outline of the argument in Jn.5:17-29 will help to show that the Son of man saying is part of Jesus' reply to the Jews to defend his claim to equality with God.

The chapter begins with a narrative description of a sabbath healing by Jesus. Our Evangelist uses the sabbath controversy within the gospel tradition in order to raise a much more serious controversy. The transition from the sabbath controversy to Jesus' more controversial monologue comes in Jn.5:17,18. According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus defends his right to heal on the sabbath in a way unlike any of the Synoptic accounts of the

sabbath controversy. The Evangelist comments that the real cause of the hostility <sup>of</sup> ~~by~~ Jesus' opponents stems not from the breaking of the sabbath law, but from Jesus' claim to equality with God.

Jesus answered them, My Father worketh even until now, and I work. For this cause therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only brake the sabbath, but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God.

(Jn.5:17,18)

The rest of the chapter gives Jesus' explanation of the relation between the work of the Father and the work of the Son. The Son, like the Father, can raise the dead, and the Father has given to the Son the authority to judge. In order to add weight to his argument, Jesus, according to the Fourth Evangelist, identifies the Son of God with the expression "son of man" in Dan.7:13, and links that figure with the hope of the resurrection of the dead, the hope also expressed in the Book of Daniel. The emphasis in Jn.5:27-29 is not upon a future eschatological judgment, but upon the Son's ability to raise the dead, and upon his authority to judge, being an ability and an authority given to him by the Father. We can see this emphasis in the following extract from the monologue:

Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner.... For as the Father raiseth the dead and



quickeneth them, even so the Son also quickeneth whom he will. For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgement unto the Son...Verily, verily I say unto you, the hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself: and he gave him authority to execute judgement, because he is the Son of man. Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.

(Jn.5:19,21,22,25-29)

The reference to the apocalyptic image of the future final judgment of the Son of man figure serves to illustrate the truth of the argument that the Son does those works which the Jews say only God can do. Seen in this light, the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 confirms the Son of man saying in the opening chapter of the Fourth Gospel. There we saw that the saying helped to interpret the double witness of John the Baptist and Nathanael to Jesus as the Son of God; in Jn.5 also, the Son of man figure provides an interpretation of the way in which the Father "hath given all judgment unto the Son..." Again, in Jn.1:51 we saw that the vision of the Son of man to Nathanael comes through Jesus who does the life-giving works of God (Jn.1:50); in Jn.5 also, the picture of the general resurrection by the Son of man shows that the Son can raise the dead like the Father.

Here in Jn.5 the whole argument in vv.19-29, concluding with a reference to the Danielic Son of man, seeks to confirm that Jesus performs the works of God. Note particularly the opening

verses of Jesus' monologue:

Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth these the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and greater works than these will he shew him, that ye may marvel.

(Jn.5:19,20)

Compare Jesus' words to Nathanael "Thou shalt see greater things than these". In the development of the argument beyond Jn.5:29, Jesus refers to his works as a greater witness than the witness of John the Baptist (Jn.5:36). According to the Fourth Evangelist John the Baptist bore witness to Jesus as the Son of God. Nathanael expressed his belief in the Baptist's testimony and Jesus himself confirmed that testimony by referring to himself as the Son of man. In Jn.5 Jesus testifies to the Jews that as Son of God he does the works of his Father. He confirms this testimony by referring to himself as the Son of man figure in Daniel's throne-vision.

Those scholars who see Jn.5:27-29 as the work of a later editor point out that the judgment of the Son of God is a present judgment (Jn.5:25), whereas the judgment of the Son of man is a future final judgment. However, we saw that in Jn.1:51 the works of the Son of God are interpreted as the vision of the Son of man. This vision makes judgment a present reality for those who do not believe that Jesus is God's Son (Jn.3:18,36). The judgment that comes from this vision of the Son of man who is on earth will eventually be consummated by the appearance of the Son of man in the final judgment at the end of the age. This was the conclusion

that we came to from my exegesis of Jn.1:51, and this conclusion finds clearer expression here in Jn.5:25-29, because the Evangelist identifies the Son of God with the Son of man in Jn.5:25 and Jn.5:27, as he does in Jn.1:49 and Jn.1:51. What was implicit in Jn.1 is explicit in Jn.5.

For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself: and he gave him authority to execute judgement, because he is the Son of man.  
(Jn.5:26,27)

This identification between the Son of God and the Son of man is anticipated in Jn.5:22 where Jesus says that the Father "hath given all judgement unto the Son". In Jn.1 the two terms refer to the vision of God in Jesus which brings salvation and judgment into the present through the signs Jesus performs. In the same way the two terms in Jn.5 also refer to the vision of God in Jesus because he alone does the works of God which no man can do; he can give life and he can execute judgment. I have argued that the intention of Jn.5:27-29 is not to emphasise a future final judgment as opposed to a present judgment. Instead the main aim of these verses is to support Jesus' claim to equality with God on the basis that he does the works of God.

There are three points suggesting a close link between the first three Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel (Jn.1:51; 3:13,14; and 5:27). First there are allusions to Old Testament texts in Jn.1:51 and 3:14 and there is possibly an allusion to an Old Testament text (Dan.7) in Jn.5:27.<sup>5</sup>

Second, the earlier Son of man sayings are in contexts in which Jesus takes up a controversial position concerning the



vision of God in relation to the works (or signs) he performs. In Jn.5 Jesus describes the parousia vision in relation to the works he performs. He does so in the context of a dispute.

The third point suggesting a link between Jn.1:51,3:13,14; and Jn.5:27 is that, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus addresses each of these Son of man sayings to clearly defined groups or representatives of groups. In Jn.1 the Son of man saying is addressed to Nathanael and to the disciples of Jesus. In Jn.3 the Son of man sayings are addressed to Nicodemus, but the dialogue occasionally slips into the plural form showing that Nicodemus is the representative of those religious leaders within Judaism who are impressed by Jesus' signs (see Jn.3:1,2,11,12 and see 12:42).<sup>6</sup> Here in Jn.5 Jesus addresses the Son of man saying to his opponents "the Jews". In the Fourth Gospel they have no representative as clearly defined as Nathanael or Nicodemus, but the term "the Jews" in Jn.5 and Jn.7, and elsewhere, refers to the Jewish authorities who are Jesus' opponents. At the historical level contemporary with our Evangelist, "the Jews" represent the Jewish authorities who are Pharisees hostile towards the Johannine Community.<sup>7</sup> Before I turn to a discussion of Jn.5:27, I will first show more clearly the role that "the Jews" play according to the Fourth Evangelist. When we have a clearer picture of the audience Jesus addresses in Jn.5, we will be in a better position to understand the significance and meaning of the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27.

## 1 : THE JEWS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

There have been many studies on the Johannine use of the term "the Jews". This in itself is a recognition of the significance of the Fourth Evangelist's use of the term for the understanding of this Gospel. Convenient to my purpose, U.C. von Wahlde has recently carried out a thorough critical survey of the studies concerning the Jews in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>8</sup> This survey includes a chart listing the opinions of scholars concerning which category of meaning they give to the individual texts referring to "the Jews" in the Fourth Gospel. Four to five categories are given by various scholars, but all agree that the characteristic usage of the term "the Jews" in John is in reference to the Jewish authorities as Jesus' hostile opponents. However, some scholars include the common people (the "crowd" or the "many"), within this category. A significant conclusion from von Wahlde's survey is that whilst scholars are agreed as to which texts in the Gospel refer to the Jewish authorities alone, they are not in agreement as to which individual texts include the common people together with the authorities. In von Wahlde's analysis of the confusion surrounding these other texts he shows that we should understand them also to refer only to the Jewish authorities. The only exceptions are Jn.6:41,52:

Although a current trend in scholarship is to see the Johannine Jews as comprising both the common people and the authorities, upon close examination we found that there is little or no reason for seeing the Johannine Jews as common people except for the case of 6:41,52.\*

The Jews of Jn.6:41,52 are the only ones to appear in this Gospel outside Judaea and to be identified with the common people. These references therefore belong to a separate category of their own. The only explanation that von Wahlde can give is that Jn.6:41,52 are the work of a redactor. However, we shall see in my next chapter, concerning the Son of man sayings in John 6, that an alternative explanation is possible.<sup>10</sup>

In strong contrast to the doubt scholars have concerning the identity of the Jews in Jn.6 is the assurance scholars have that the term "the Jews" in Jn.5 refers to the authorities alone. In Jn.7 the Evangelist distinguishes the religious authorities from the festival crowd as follows:

There was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning him: some said, He is a good man; others said, Not so, but he leadeth the multitude astray. Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.

(Jn.7:12,13)

In Jn.5, we find that the Evangelist is equally explicit concerning the identity of the Jews. He contrasts again the common people with the temple authorities who are the Jews hostile to Jesus. These Jews had sent a delegation to John the Baptist and they interrogated Jesus on his previous visit to the temple at Jerusalem (Jn.1:19;2:18,20). In Jn.5 the temple authorities maintain the sabbath law: "So the Jews said unto him that was cured, 'It is the sabbath, and it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed'" (v.10). Later they are consulted by their informant: "The man went away, and told the Jews that it was Jesus which had made him whole" (v.15).



The temple authorities represent the Jewish authorities in the historical situation of the Johannine community. These contemporary authorities are Pharisees, and at several points in the Fourth Gospel they shine through as the real opponents that the Evangelist has in mind (see Jn.1:24;4:1;7:45,47,48;9:13;12:24).<sup>11</sup> In the dialogue in Jn.5 we can recognise a debate between the Johannine community and the Jewish authorities, in addition to the conflict between Jesus and the temple authorities of his day. For example, a brief comparison between the Johannine account of the so-called "Cleansing of the Temple", and the same account in the Synoptic Gospels, will show this.

According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus came to Jerusalem for the first time at the end of his Galilaean ministry. Before teaching in the temple, Jesus confronted the Jewish authorities by his action of "cleansing" the temple. This action provoked the temple authorities with the intention to kill Jesus (Mk.11:18). The subsequent teaching by Jesus in the temple involves an unremitting attack upon the temple authorities. This attack against the authorities in Jerusalem is understood, in the Synoptic Gospels, to be the cause of Jesus' arrest. At the trial before the high priest, false witnesses are brought forward claiming malicious intent behind Jesus' words concerning the temple:

We heard him say, I will destroy this temple  
that is made with hands, and in three days I  
will build another made without hands.  
(Mk.14:58)

The importance of this temple saying is particularly apparent

in Mt.27:62-66.<sup>12</sup> This passage reflects a later Jewish-Christian debate. According to Matthew, the chief priests and the Pharisees went to Pilate and said,

Sir, we remember that that deceiver  
(ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάνους) said, while he was  
yet alive, After three days I rise  
again. Command therefore that the  
sepulchre be made sure until the  
third day, lest haply his disciples  
come and steal him away, and say unto  
the people, He is risen from the dead:  
and the last error (ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη)  
will be worse than the first.  
(Mt.27:63,64)

When we turn to the Johannine account of Jesus' disrupting the affairs of the temple, we find there are three points of contrast each of which suggests that, according to our Evangelist, this overt action by Jesus was not the primary reason for his arrest:

- a) The Fourth Gospel records this incident at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry, on the first of several visits to Jerusalem. In subsequent visits to the temple, Jesus engages in extensive debates with "the Jews". The content of the discourses always concerns the authority and identity of Jesus. Jesus' "Cleansing of the Temple" is never an issue in these discourses. In contrast the last straw comes, according to the Fourth Gospel, when Jesus raises Lazarus from the dead.
- b) There is no mention of a desire to kill Jesus, as a result of his action in the temple, on his first visit to Jerusalem. The authorities ask for a sign that would reveal his authority for such action. Jesus replies with words similar to the words the false-witnesses brought against him according to the Synoptic trial narrative: "Destroy this temple, and in three

days I will raise it up" (Jn.2:19). According to the Fourth Evangelist this remark does not provoke hostility. The Evangelist is more concerned to show that this prophetic saying was meant for the disciples. He explains that they were only able to understand its meaning after Jesus' resurrection:

When therefore he was raised from the dead,  
his disciples remembered that he spake this;  
and they believed the scripture, and the word  
which Jesus had said.  
(Jn.2:22)

- c) In the Fourth Gospel's account of the trial before the high priest, there are no attempts to claim any malicious intent, on the part of Jesus, against the temple at Jerusalem. Significantly, the opening enquiry by the high priest refers to Jesus' teaching to his disciples:

The high priest therefore asked Jesus of his  
disciples, and of his teaching. Jesus answered  
him I have spoken openly to the world; I ever  
taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where  
all the Jews come together; and in secret  
spoke I nothing.  
(Jn.18:19,20)

Jesus is on trial because of his teaching to his disciples, not because of any action against the temple authorities. Thus C. H. Dodd writes:

The statement that Jesus was interrogated  
*περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας*  
*αὐτοῦ* gives an aspect to the proceedings  
different from that which we gather from  
the Synoptic accounts; but it agrees well  
with the statement of a baraita in Bab.Sanh.43b,  
that Jesus of Nazareth was condemned to



death because he practised sorcery and 'incited and impelled' Israel (מִן־תַּחַת יְדֵי הַכַּהֲנָיִם וְהַלְוִיִּם...If this was the view taken by the Jewish authorities, then it was entirely in order for Jesus to be questioned about the nature and content of his teaching and about the adherents he had won, as John says he was.<sup>13</sup>

So far I have highlighted two factors in the relation between Jesus and the Jews according to the Fourth Gospel. Firstly, the Jews in Jn.5 and Jn.7 represent the hostile Jewish authorities, in contrast to the common people, in the *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine community. Secondly, contrary to the Synoptists, the Fourth Evangelist does not present the "Temple Cleansing" or the "Temple Saying" as decisive for the Jews' hostility towards Jesus. These factors bring into special prominence Jn.5:17,18. Here the full venom of the Jews' hostility towards Jesus is the result of his claim to equality with God. Just as the Fourth Evangelist modifies the gospel tradition concerning the "Temple Cleansing" according to the Synoptic narratives, so also he modifies the gospel tradition concerning the sabbath controversy. In Jn.5 Jesus appeals to an authority greater than David, and greater than the traditions of the elders:

Jesus answered them, My Father worketh even until now, and I work. For this cause therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only brake the sabbath, but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God.  
(Jn.5:17,18)

These Jews are not anxious because Jesus leads the common people astray through false-prophecy (compare Mt.27:63,64), they are anxious because he leads them astray through false worship.

These Jews are not anxious because he claims he will be raised from the dead after three days, they are outraged because he claims to raise the dead, doing the works of God. On the evidence of the Fourth Gospel we might well understand this outrage against such heretical teaching within Jewish monotheism.

The prophecy against the temple is not a major issue with the Jews according to the Fourth Evangelist. His account of the raising of Lazarus takes the place of the "Temple Cleansing" at the close of Jesus' public ministry. The Johannine emphasis is on Jesus who raises the dead, not on Jesus who is raised from the dead (see Jn.10:18 and Jn.5:21,26). According to our Evangelist the Pharisees recognise that Jesus has usurped their authority because of his power to raise the dead:

The Pharisees therefore said among themselves,  
Behold how ye prevail nothing: lo, the world  
is gone after him.

(Jn.12:19, see vv.17,18)

This issue is at the heart of Jesus' reply to the Jews in Jn.5:17-29. The Johannine Son of man is a fundamental part of this heretical teaching in the eyes of the Jews. He is identified with the Son who has life in himself to raise the dead (Jn.5:26,27); who ascends back to the Father (Jn.3:13;6:62); and who is to be worshipped (Jn.9:38, see v.35).

We must soon turn to the rabbinic evidence which points to similar tensions within Judaism at a time contemporary with the Johannine community. However, before we can do this we must look more closely at the Son of man saying here in Jn.5:27 in order to show that this saying includes an allusion to Dan.7:13. The

reason for this allusion is that the argument the Fourth Gospel describes in Jn.5:17ff reflects those tensions within Judaism which involve the suggestion that there are "two powers" in heaven. This heresy is closely associated with speculations surrounding the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven which we have already discussed.



## 2 : DAN.7:13 AND THE SON OF MAN SAYING IN JN.5:27

The Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 is the only one in all the four New Testament Gospels which does not have the definite article. In this respect Jn.5:27 follows Dan.7:13 more precisely.

Dan.7:13 reads *(ὡς) υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* and Jn.5:27 reads *ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν*. However, in a recent study of the influence of the Danielic vision upon the New Testament writings P. M. Casey denies that Jn.5:27 alludes to Dan.7:13:

The fact that the expression is anarthrous cannot point to a specific biblical text because this is too general a feature of language to point anywhere and because the anarthrous expression yields a sound sense without such a reference....Reference to Dan.7:13 is unhelpful as well as unnecessary. John took the expression 'Son of Man' from Christian tradition, and it is at least feasible to suppose that, like many later Western Christians, he believed it to express the human nature of Christ.<sup>14</sup>

There are three points which P. M. Casey raises in favour of his argument. Firstly, the anarthrous expression is too general a feature to be a decisive reference to Dan.7:13. Secondly, an allusion to Dan.7:13 is unnecessary because this Son of man saying makes sense without such a reference. Thirdly, because the Fourth Evangelist took the expression from Christian tradition, it is probable that he followed the many later Western Christians who understood the term to refer to Christ's human nature.

Let us look at each of these points bearing in mind that the key issue is whether or not Jn.5:27 alludes to Dan.7:13.

Firstly, is the anarthrous expression in Jn.5:27 a feature of language that is too general to provide proof of an allusion to Dan.7:13? I would agree with P. M. Casey that the existence or non-existence of a definite article can hardly suffice to point to a specific quotation in the same language. However, when we consider that we are dealing with the phenomenon of the Son of man sayings in the four Gospels of the New Testament, the anarthrous reference to the Son of man is not a feature that is too general. Jn.5:27 is the only Son of man saying in all the Gospels where the expression "Son of man" has no article. The unusual nature of Jn.5:27 appears more impressive when we recall that the Fourth Evangelist is careful to observe the Synoptic tradition of placing all the sayings on the lips of Jesus (I have already pointed out that Jn.12:23 is no exception.)<sup>15</sup> All the other Johannine Son of man sayings refer to "the Son of man", as in the Synoptic sayings.

Secondly, is an allusion to Dan.7:13 unnecessary here in Jn.5? I agree that such an allusion is unnecessary if P. M. Casey is right in his understanding of the Evangelist's intention in Jn.5. He suggests that our Evangelist saw the advantage of the divine function of judgment being carried out by a man, and only as a man was Jesus qualified to judge men. Here Casey is supporting R. Leivestad's argument that in Jn.5:27 Jesus has been given authority to pass judgment not because he is the Son of man, but because he is a son of man.<sup>16</sup>

However, the argument in Jn.5:19-29 does not stress Jesus' humanity. According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus defended his claim to equality with God because he does the works of God. The

expression "Son of man" is part of an argument intended to confirm to the Jews that Jesus is the Son of God who can give life to others because he has life in himself just as the Father has life in himself (Jn.5:21,26), but more particularly the expression confirms that the Father has given to the Son all authority to judge.

For neither doth the Father judge any man,  
but he hath given all judgement unto the Son...  
For as the Father hath life in himself, even  
so gave he to the Son also to have life in  
himself: and he gave him authority to execute  
judgement, because he is the Son of man.  
(Jn.5:22,26,27)

The voice of the Son of God is the voice of the Son of man which will raise the dead (Jn.5:25,28). The Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 is not a confirmation of the humanity of Christ but a confirmation that the Son of God does the work of God. He does not judge because of his humanity, but because the Father, who alone has authority to judge, has given that authority to his Son. Therefore the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 forms part of an argument against the Jews which shows, from scripture, in what way Jesus is "equal with God".

Thirdly, did the Fourth Evangelist follow the view of later Western Christians who understood the expression "Son of man" to refer to Christ's human nature? On the assumption that our Evangelist stood closer to the later Western Fathers than to the several other writers of the New Testament, this is possible. There is evidence within the manuscripts of the Fourth Gospel that some copyists shared P. M. Casey's view that the Johannine use of the expression "Son of man" referred to Christ's humanity. I am



referring to the variant reading that we find in Jn.9:35 where we have what appears to be a confessional formula. According to some manuscripts Jesus asked the man he healed,

Dost thou believe on the Son of God?  
(Jn.9:35 R.V.)

However, most scholars agree that the more difficult reading, which instead of "the Son of God" reads "Son of man", and which is also well attested in the manuscripts, is probably the original text.<sup>17</sup> The texts of the RSV and NEB English bibles read "the Son of man" (RSV) and "the Son of Man" (NEB). Some copyists probably thought that the expression *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* was inappropriate as a confession of faith in Jesus, because to them the expression indicated Christ's humanity. They perhaps replaced that expression with *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ* to make the confession of faith an affirmation of Christ's divinity. But the term "Son of man" is the more difficult reading, and was most probably the original one. The context of the Son of man saying in Jn.9:35 is a court scene in which Jesus, outside the court, condemns the Pharisees. The expression in Jn.9:35 is at this point consistent with Jn.5:27 which shows the authority of the Son of man as Judge. Elsewhere, the Fourth Gospel refers to the heavenly origin of this Son of man figure who descends from heaven and returns ~~back~~ to heaven (Jn.3:13,6:62). This would suggest, as we have seen in Jn.5, that the expressions "Son of God" and "Son of man" are not understood antithetically by our Evangelist, as if referring to the two natures of Christ. Instead, the Fourth Evangelist uses the expression "Son of man" to confirm the appropriateness of the

title "Son of God" applied to Jesus. P. M. Casey holds that a decisive argument against the expression "Son of man" as an apocalyptic title in the New Testament is the absence of that term from all confessions of faith in any of the New Testament writings. In Jn.9:35-38 we have at least a hint of just such a confession of faith.<sup>18</sup>

I think the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 alludes to the apocalyptic figure of the "one like unto a son of man" that we find in Dan.7:13. The anarthrous expression is unique among the Son of man sayings in the gospels. The Evangelist intends this saying to support his argument that Jesus is the Son of God who does the works of God because he raises the dead and executes judgment. I now wish to give added weight to this suggestion by these four pieces of evidence:

- a) Integral to the understanding of the relation between the Father and the Son is the explanation that the exclusive right to execute judgment is an authority which the Father has conferred upon the Son (*ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ*). This phrase is similar to the Greek text of Dan.7:14, *ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία*.<sup>19</sup>
- b) The raising of the dead is the life-giving work of the Father and of the Son (Jn.5:21.25). The Evangelist combines the divine function of raising the dead with the divine function of judgment. Both functions are referred to in the Book of Daniel. The reference to the raising of the dead at the voice of the Son of man in Jn.5:29 echoes the general resurrection the dead described in Dan.12:2.<sup>20</sup>
- c) According to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus continued his

argument against the Jews in Jn.5 by questioning their method of interpreting the scriptures. Jesus states explicitly that the Jews do not interpret the scriptures correctly:

And ye have not (God's) word abiding in you:  
for whom he sent, him ye believe not. Ye  
search the scriptures, because ye think that  
in them ye have eternal life; and these are  
they which bear witness of me.  
(Jn.5:38,39)

At the end of Jesus' argument against these Jews, he presents his interpretation of the scriptures, the interpretation of our Evangelist:

If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me;  
for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not  
his writings, how shall ye believe my words?  
(Jn.5:46-47 compare Jn.1:17)

In the light of this development in Jesus' argument in Jn.5, we can expect to find in Jesus' argument at least an allusion to an Old Testament passage. Perhaps Jn.5:27-29 is scriptural proof for the argument that Jesus is the Son of God who does the works of God (of giving life, and of judging) and who is therefore equal with God. The argument then develops into an assessment of the witnesses (Jn.5:30-47). Central to this development is the witness of the scriptures, and so the argument involves a discussion of the correct interpretation of them (see vv. 38-47).

- d) Finally, and this relates to my argument earlier giving reasons for the similarity between Jn.1:51 and Jn.5:27, Dan.7:13 describes a vision. We saw that the previous two Son of man sayings referred to Old Testament passages which our Evangelist interprets as revelations of the Son of man. It is



possible that Jn.5:27 alludes to the Danielic vision of "one like unto a son of man". We saw that Jn.1:51 interprets Jesus' signs as the vision of the heavenly Son of man figure, and that Jesus' description of the vision of the Son of man in Jn.3:14 forms part of his reply to Nicodemus's misunderstanding of the significance of the signs he performed in Jerusalem. In Jn.5, an allusion to the Danielic vision of "one like unto a son of man" seems appropriate in a discussion which is once more sparked off by a sign Jesus performs. Perhaps even more significant, in Jn.5:37 we have a repetition of the view expressed in Jn.1:18 concerning the vision of God. Just as Jn.1:51 gives the Johannine interpretation of the vision of God in the light of the statement in Jn.1:18, so also Jn.5:27 gives the same interpretation in the light of a similar statement to Jn.1:18 in Jn.5:37.

To sum up, I have argued that whilst Jn.5:27 refers to the Son of man as the future eschatological Judge, and appears to contradict the Johannine understanding of a present judgment, in the context of the argument in Jn.5 this saying has close links with the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13,14. In particular, Jn.5:27, like Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:14, probably alludes to an Old Testament text which the Fourth Evangelist interprets as a vision of the heavenly Son of man figure. What I have said so far does not exhaust the significance of this Son of man saying. We saw that in the other two sayings the Old Testament passages were subject to conflicting and controversial interpretations of the

vision of God. I now wish to turn to some rabbinic evidence that suggests the Fourth Evangelist was aware of a similar controversy concerning the interpretation of Dan.7.

### 3 : THE RABBINIC EVIDENCE OF THE "TWO POWERS" HERETICS IN RELATION TO JN.5

The long discourse in Jn.5:19ff began as a result of a sabbath healing by Jesus. The Fourth Gospel shows that the Jews persecuted Jesus because he broke the sabbath, but the Evangelist explains that the Jews sought to kill him not just because he broke the sabbath, but mainly because he claimed equality with God when he justified his sabbath healing with the words,

My Father worketh even until now, and I work.  
(Jn.5:17)

This saying has no direct parallel in the controversy about the sabbath question in the Synoptic Gospels. It suits the intention of our Evangelist to switch from a discussion of the sabbath question to a discussion of Jesus' claim to equality with God. Elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel Jesus discusses the sabbath question more in the manner of the Synoptic tradition, referring to events recorded in scripture where an Old Testament hero breaks the sabbath, or to the traditions of the elders (see Jn.7:23 and compare Mk.2:25,26). However, here in Jn.5 the Evangelist describes a sabbath healing in order to raise the issue of Jesus' equality with God.

And for this cause did the Jews persecute Jesus, because he did these things on the sabbath. But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh even until now, and I work. For this cause therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only brake the sabbath, but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God. Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth



the Father doing: for what things soever  
he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like  
manner.

(Jn.5:16-19)

The discussion continues, without any mention of the sabbath question, but there is a further link in the monologue with the narrative of the sabbath healing.

In Jn.5:21,22 two aspects of the work of the Father pertain also to the Son: the power to give life; and the authority to judge (see also vv.26,27). The description of Jesus healing the paralytic illustrates these two aspects of the work of God. Jesus heals a man who has been infirm for thirty-eight years. He thereby shows his power to give life (Jn.5:8,9). Later Jesus met the man again and showed his authority to execute judgment:

Afterward Jesus findeth him in the temple,  
and said unto him, Behold, thou art made  
whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing  
befall thee.

(Jn.5:14)

The words of Jesus according to Jn.5:8,9 and v.14, are similar to his replies on the sabbath question in the Synoptic Gospels. In those accounts Jesus' power to give life, and his authority to judge are brought into sharper focus, and include the expression "the Son of man". According to Mark's account of a sabbath healing Jesus said to his opponents,

Whether is easier, to say to the sick of the  
palsy, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say,  
Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk? But  
that ye may know that the Son of man hath  
power (ἐξουσίαν) on earth to forgive sins.

(Mk.2:9,10 see also Mt.9:6,7 and Lk.5:24,25)

The Fourth Evangelist is perhaps aware of the sabbath controversy in the Synoptic tradition, and retells these gospel

stories to introduce another controversy which concerned the later Johannine community in debate with the Jewish authorities. The mention of the two aspects of the works of God may help to identify this later controversy.

C. H. Dodd, in his book *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), refers in a footnote to the rabbinic evidence for heretical teaching concerning "two powers" in heaven. He briefly mentions the "two powers" heretics because of the parallel he saw between the Philonic concept of the two activities of God; of creating life; and of exercising kingly authority, and the two aspects of divine activity according to Jn.5; of  $\zeta\omega\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ ; and  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  (Jn.5:21,22). In the light of early rabbinic evidence concerning a controversy within Judaism against there being two authorities in heaven, C. H. Dodd tentatively suggested that the Jewish authorities thought Jesus claimed to be a second god. Dodd had in mind the Philonic phrase  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Philo applies this expression to the Logos. On the discourse in Jn.5 Dodd comments:

The claim here advanced for Jesus inevitably raises the question, whether it involves a departure from monotheism. If He can exercise the divine functions of  $\zeta\omega\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , does that mean He is a  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ?<sup>21</sup>

For the rabbinic evidence of the "two powers" heretics, C. H. Dodd relies upon the findings of G. F. Moore in his study on Judaism. G. F. Moore states that the earliest evidence is in Siphre on Deut.32:39 and in the Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exod.20:2. These rabbinic writings contain much material based on the rival schools of Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Ishmael. In the light

of this evidence Dodd concludes,

It seems therefore that the polemic against the 'two powers' may with great probability be traced to a period not far removed from that of the Fourth Gospel. It may well be earlier.<sup>22</sup>

C. H. Dodd saw a connection between the writings of Philo, the Fourth Gospel, and the rabbinic evidence of the "two powers" heretics. However, before we look at the rabbinic evidence in relation to Jn.5, I wish to point out what I consider to be a significant connection between early Jewish mysticism, the Fourth Gospel, and the rabbinic evidence of the "two powers" heretics.<sup>23</sup>

At the outset it is worth pointing out that the throne-vision texts such as Exod.24:10f; Dan.7:9f; Ezek.1:26f and Isa.6:1f, important for Jewish mystics, are also the texts which are prominent in the rabbinic writings refuting those interpretations which suggest there is more than one power in heaven.<sup>24</sup> The Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and 3:13,14, and the argument in Jn.5 suggest that the Fourth Gospel engages in a similar controversy within Judaism in which some interpretations of certain vision texts were considered to be heretical. I now wish to suggest possible connections in the teaching of the merkabah mystics, the Fourth Evangelist, and the two powers heretics. This is not an attempt to identify these three teachings as essentially the same. This is unlikely. What I am suggesting is that the argument of the rabbis against the two powers heretics touches upon the teaching of the merkabah mystics, and of the Fourth Evangelist, at certain points, and on the same cluster of Old Testament texts. This gives some grounds for the conclusion that



the Fourth Evangelist was at least aware of, and possibly involved in, similar controversies within Judaism.

The first point concerns claims to mystical ascents to heaven. We saw that the Son of man saying in Jn.3:13 may challenge the validity of any claims to mystical ascents by Old Testament heroes or even contemporary rabbis and other mystics. In the rabbinic writings there are passages which suggest a relation between merkabah mysticism and the "two powers" heretics. The famous passage in b.Hagigah 15a, about the four rabbis who entered "paradise", describes Elisha b.Abuya, known as Aher, as a heretic of the "two powers" kind.

Aher mutilated the shoots. Of him scripture says: (Ecc.5:5). Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt. What does it refer to? He saw that permission was granted to Metatron to sit and write down the merits of Israel. Said he: "It is taught as a tradition that on high there is no sitting and no emulation, no back and no weariness. Perhaps God forbend. - there are two powers". Thereupon they led Metatron forth, and punished him with sixty fiery lashes, saying to him: "Why didst thou not rise before him when thou didst see him?" Permission was (then) given him to strike out the merits of Aher. A Bath Kol went forth and said: "Return, ye backsliding children" (Jer.3:22) - except Aher.<sup>25</sup>

(b.Hagigah 15a)

Most probably the original form of this passage had nothing to do with mystical speculations. There are several different versions of this part of the story dealing with Aher.<sup>26</sup> Although the form of the tradition in the Babylonian Talmud is late it has a contemporary of Akiba, Elisha b.Abuya (110-135 C.E.), as the paradigm for the heretic of the "two powers" kind. The scene

described in this passage is the heavenly court. Aher reluctantly claims to have seen Metatron seated on a throne. Condemnation of his claim is twofold. Metatron is whipped showing his inferior status, and Aher is put under the ban and beyond the bounds of repentance. The passage suggests that speculations about the throne vision were in danger of being heretical. The figure of Metatron is a later development in the Son of man tradition in the Enoch cycle of apocalyptic writings. They contain the earliest sources for the evidence of merkabah mysticism.<sup>27</sup>

Another early source is the Apocalypse of Abraham (dated late first century C.E.). The words of the celestial hymn in this Apocalypse are particularly suggestive. Abraham sings a hymn of worship to God on his ascent to the vision of the divine throne, and includes the words: "Most glorious El, El, El, El, Iaoel" (Apoc.Abr.17:13). The fourfold "El" and the name "Iaoel" appear to be substitutes for the Tetragrammaton. Elsewhere in the Apocalypse of Abraham "Iaoel" is the name given to the archangel who appears in the seer's visions. This angel taught Abraham the celestial hymn which addresses God as Iaoel. In Apoc.Abr.10 the angel says, concerning his own name,

I am Iaoel and I was called so by him who  
causes those with me on the seventh expanse,  
on the firmament, to shake, a power through  
the medium of his ineffable name in me.  
(Apoc.Abr.10:8)

The context implies that he is the angel next to God who possesses the divine name.<sup>28</sup>

Iaoel not only communicates the divine name to Abraham in the celestial song, but also explains to him the mysteries of the

throne world and of the last judgment. In the later Hekhaloth tracts of the merkabah mystics this role is given to the angel Metatron who possesses the divine name:

And he called me (Metatron, the Prince of the Presence) the lesser YHWH in the presence of all his heavenly household; as it is written: "For my name is in him".<sup>29</sup>  
(3 Enoch 12:5)

3 Enoch is part of the Enoch cycle of apocalyptic literature in which Enoch becomes the Son of man who is also Metatron.

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus, the Son of man, possesses the divine name. Jesus prays to the Father,

Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are. While I was with them I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me.  
(Jn.17:11,12)

In Jn.5, Jesus defends his claim to equality with God saying to the Jews,

I am come in my Father's name, and you receive me not.  
(Jn.5:43)

According to the prayer in Jn.17, Jesus made known to his disciples the Father's name (Jn.17:26). Similarly, in the Apocalypse of Abraham the Angel of the Presence made known to Abraham the divine name, which he possessed. Thus there appears to be some ground for the consideration that the Fourth Gospel was aware of Jewish mystical speculations concerning the possession of the divine name by a principal angelic being; based on Exod.23:12. We know that at a later stage this speculation was in danger of becoming heretical teaching of the "two powers" kind.<sup>30</sup> This may well have some bearing on the content of the



argument in Jn.5 where Jesus is accused of claiming equality with God, and where, in reply, Jesus tells his opponents that he has come in his Father's name.

This brings me to my final point. In an extensive footnote A. F. Segal points out that the translation of the rabbinic term "two powers in heaven", can be misleading. The Greek word ἐξουσία is used more accurately to indicate power of disposal, permission and authority. The concept of the halakhic agent best explains this term, and A. F. Segal gives rabbinic examples of the halakhic agent to illustrate this meaning.<sup>31</sup>

P. Borgen draws our attention to the principal angelic being who is commissioned as a messenger according to the merkabah mystics. The descriptions of this figure have a strong halakhic content. P. Borgen shows similarities between the angel Israel according to Philo, and the Christ according to the Fourth Evangelist. The following passage from Philo will serve to show the relevance of what I have said so far concerning the idea of a principal heavenly figure with authority above all other angelic beings. Philo writes,

But if there be any as yet unfit to be called a Son of God, let him press to take his place under God's First-born, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called, "the Beginning", and the Name of God, and His Logos and the Man after His image, and "he that sees", that is Israel.

(Philo Conf.146)

Elsewhere, Philo refers to the Logos as a second God δεύτερος θεός (Somn.I 228-230 and Quae.Gen.II 62). This gives significance

to the parallels in the list of names given to Jesus in Jn.1 and in the hymn in Apoc. Abr.17. But in Jn.5 there is a strong emphasis upon Jesus as the heavenly agent of God.<sup>32</sup> Just how strong the concept of the halakhic agent is in this discourse can be seen from the following passages:

In Jn.5:24 Jesus is the one sent by the Father,

He that heareth my word, and believeth him  
that sent me, hath eternal life.

In Jn.5:30 Jesus the agent resigns his own will in total obedience to the sender:

I can of myself do nothing: as I hear, I  
judge: and my judgement is righteous;  
because I seek not mine own will, but the  
will of him that sent me.  
(compare Jn.5:19,20)

Finally in Jn.5:36,37 the witness of Jesus, the agent, is equivalent to the witness of the one who sent him:

The very works that I do, bear witness of me,  
that the Father hath sent me. And the Father  
which sent me, he hath borne witness of me.

The halakhic agent is one who is commissioned and is always the representative of the one who commissions him. He therefore exercises the rights of the Sender. The Rabbis frequently said to the agent ( $\text{למי שישלח}$ ) that "the one whom a man sends is the equivalent of himself". This implies that the one who is sent is as good as the one who sends him.<sup>33</sup>

It is possible that the concept of the halakhic agent plays an important part in the Johannine community's defence, presented to the Jews, against the charge of heresy of the "two powers" kind. Here we have a legal concept from the halakah, which is

important also to the merkabah mystics, and which can be connected to the concept of a heavenly mediator between God and man. By applying the concept of the halakhic agent to the concept of the principal angel next to God, one who is charged with heresy of the two powers kind can claim that, as God's halakhic agent or representative, the heavenly messenger has no independent authority. He is always obedient to the one who sends him. According to the halakhic agency principle, the thoughts of unity and identity between the agent and the sender are tempered by an emphasis upon the superiority of the sender,

the sender is greater than the sent.  
(Ber.R.78)

The subordination implied in the Father-Son relation in Jn.5 fits very well here. Jesus does the works of the Father, and so is seen to be equal with God. This Father-Son relation is no personal mysticism, but a relation according to halakhic agency because the Son can only do what he sees the Father doing

Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner.  
(Jn.5:19)

Compare also a passage in the Fourth Gospel which comes close to the agency principle expressed ~~in~~ by Rabbi Simeon on Gen.32:36 in Ber.R.78 cited above,

Verily, verily, I say unto you, A servant is not greater than his lord; neither one that is sent greater than he that sent him.  
(Jn.13:16, see also Jn.15:20)

To sum up, we have looked at areas where we are able to see links between merkabah mysticism, the Fourth Gospel, and the



rabbinic refutation of the "two powers" heretics. Those areas include: claims to mystical ascents to heaven; speculation concerning a principal angel possessing the divine name; and the role of this superior heavenly being as an angelic messenger, or representative of God himself.

I now want to turn to the significance of these links for the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27, and show how the arguments in Jn.5:19ff relate to the argument against the "two powers" heretics. I shall begin by outlining the major issues involved in the heretical teaching, according to the rabbinic refutations:

- (a) The rabbinic doctrine of the two aspects of Yahweh as the God of mercy and of justice suggests to the heretics that there are two separate authorities in heaven.
- (b) According to the heretics, the conflicting descriptions of the appearance of God in the Exodus narratives (at the Red Sea (Exod.15:3), and at Sinai (Exod.24:10)) confirm to them that there are two separate authorities in heaven. At the Red Sea God appeared as a young man, a warrior who carried out justice against the Egyptians. At Sinai God appeared as an Old Man who showed mercy to Israel.
- (c) Daniel's vision in Dan.7 is an important proof text for the two powers heretics. The conflicting descriptions of God as a young man and as an old man appear in the same vision. Daniel sees "one like a son of man" approaching the "ancient of days" in heaven. In this heavenly vision there are "thrones" for both figures (Dan.7:9).
- (d) Finally, the throne visions in Ezek.1, and Isa.6, contribute

to the teaching of the "two powers" heretics. These texts aroused speculation concerning a principal angel and concerning the human figure seated on the divine throne.

I will take each of these points and relate them to the argument in Jn.5 where Jesus defends his claim to equality with God. Point (a) concerns the works of God in showing mercy and doing justice. One of the earliest rabbinic refutations of the two powers heretics concentrates on this particular argument. This passage from Sifre speaks of the resurrection of the dead and of God's power to kill and to give life.

*See now that I, even I, am He (Dt.32:39). This is a response to those who say there is no power in heaven. He who says there are two powers in heaven is answered: "Has it not elsewhere been said: 'And there is no God with me'". And similarly (for one who says) "There is no power in it (heaven) to kill or to revive, none to do evil or to make good," scripture teaches: "See now that I, even I, am He. I kill and I revive" (Dt.32:39). And Again, "Thus says YHWH, the King of Israel and his deliverer, YHWH of Hosts. I am the first, I am the last, and besides Me there is no God". (Is.44:6)*

*Another interpretation: "I kill and I revive" (Dt.32:39). This is one of four hints to resurrection of the dead: I kill and I revive (Dt.32); Let my soul die the death of the righteous; Let Reuben live and not die (Dt.33); After two days he will revive us (Hosea 6). I might think that death was by one (power) while life was by another. Scripture teaches: "I wounded and I will heal." Just as wounding and healing is by one (power), so is death and life by one (power alone).*

*(Sifre on Dt.32:39)*

The argument in this refutation of the heretics is well within the orbit of the argument in Jn.5:19ff. In Jn.5:21 the Evangelist seems to apply Deuteronomy 32 to Jesus similarly to the

way in which the rabbis applied this scripture to God.<sup>34</sup>

Two interesting points to note are:

- ( i ) the importance of Isaiah's witness to monotheism based on Deut.32:39. This is relevant to my discussion of the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28,<sup>35</sup> and
- (ii) the quotation from Hosea 6. The whole passage reads as follows,

Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him.

(Hosea 6:1,2)

The rabbinic comment in Sifre uses this passage of scripture to refute the "two powers" heretics with the comment

Just as wounding and healing is by one (power) so is death and life by one (power alone).

In the Johannine account of the cleansing of the temple there is possibly an allusion to Hosea 6:2 which the Fourth Gospel applies to Jesus. According to our Evangelist Jesus is speaking to his opponents the Jews.

Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days? But he spake of the temple of his body. When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.<sup>36</sup>

(Jn.2:19-22)

The expression "in three days" (*ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις*) is not the usual resurrection phrase in the gospel tradition; - "after three



days" or "on the third day", and our Evangelist explains that Jesus was in fact referring to his resurrection. The phrase "in three days" occurs again only in the trial narrative of the Synoptic Gospels. False witnesses claimed Jesus said he would destroy the temple then raise it again "in three days" (see Mk.14:58;15:29 para.) The significant point in the Johannine retelling of the temple cleansing is that Jesus identifies his body with the temple. He implies that he will raise his own body from death because he, like the Father, has the power to give life (see Jn.10:17,18). Add to this the fact that in the Synoptic tradition the final act which makes Jesus' opponents determined to put him to death is the cleansing of the temple, whereas according to our Evangelist the last straw is the raising of Lazarus from the dead! (see Jn.12:9-11,17-19). This shows a continuous thread running through Jesus' confrontation with the Jews in Jn.2,5,12. These accounts point to the real offence to the Jews, the claim that Jesus had the power of God to give life. Our Evangelist uses Hos.6:2 to show this.

Point (b) concerns the Exodus narratives. In the rabbinic refutations where this argument occurs, there is a reference to Daniel's vision, point (c). Therefore in the example given we must look at these two points together. They are particularly significant in another early piece of evidence for the rabbinic refutation of the heresy, in the Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exodus 20:2.

*I am YHWH your God: Why is this said? Because When He was revealed at the sea, He appeared to them as a mighty hero making war. As it is said, YHWH is a man of war. He appeared at Sinai like an old man, full of mercy, as it is said: And they saw the God of Israel (Ex.24:10). And the time after they had been redeemed what does it say? And the like of the very heaven for clearness (Ex.24:10). Again, it says I beheld 'til thrones were set down (Dan.7:9). And it also says A fiery stream issued and came forth from him etc. Scripture would not give an opportunity to the nations of the world to say "There are 'two powers' but declares I am YHWH your God" (Ex.20:2). I was in Egypt. I was at the Sea. I was in the past, I will be in the future to come. I am in this world, I am in the world to come. As it is said: Behold now, that I, even I, am He, etc. (Dt.32:39). Even unto old age I am the same (Is.46:4). Thus says YHWH the king of Israel and his Redemmer the Lord of Hosts, I am the first and the last, (Is.44:6). And it says Who has wrought and done it? He that called the generations from the beginning. I, the Lord who am the first, and to the end I am He (Is.41:4).<sup>37</sup>*

The Mekilta interprets the Exodus narratives as revelations of the one God YHWH.<sup>38</sup> The refutation in the Mekilta <sup>of</sup> ~~against~~ <sup>this work</sup> the two powers heretics shows the central place ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> gives to the Torah. YHWH himself gave the Torah to the people of Israel. According to the New Testament writers this was not so. Paul claims that the Law was given by angels:

What then is the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made; and it was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.

(Gal.3:19,20 see also Ac.7:38,53; Heb.2:2)

Within the argument against the Jews in Jn.5 Jesus says

The Father which sent me, he hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his form.  
(Jn.5:37)

This passage shows the same interpretation of the Sinai theophany that we find in Jn.6:46. The same interpretation is in the conclusion to the Prologue of the Gospel. There the contrast between Jesus Christ and Moses implies an interpretation similar to those accounts in the New Testament which say that the law was mediated by angels.

For the law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.  
(Jn.1:17,18)

Jesus is a principal heavenly being who dwells in the presence of God and who alone can see God.<sup>39</sup> This is the distinctive Johannine interpretation of the vision of God, and it includes the vision of God at Sinai. Therefore in Jn.5 Jesus defends his claim to equality with God by including an interpretation of the Sinai theophany. This makes the suggestion of an allusion to Dan.7:13 particularly significant because in the passage from the Mekilta, cited above, following the reference to the Sinai theophany, there is an interpretation of Dan.7 against the heretics.

In Dan.7 the heretics could vouch for the appearance of the young man and the old man of the Exodus narratives in the single vision described by Daniel. According to the Mekilta the heretics probably taught that the old man does works of mercy which are life-giving, and the young man does works of justice and of



judgment. According to Jn.5:22,27 Jesus is the young man who alone judges. The allusion to Dan.7:13 clinches the argument. The Jews claim the superiority of the Sinai theophany, but Jn.5:37 claims no one has ever seen God except Jesus alone who dwells in the presence of God. These interpretations of Daniel's vision and of the Sinai theophany in Jn.5 resemble the kind of argument those rabbis were involved in who replied to the heretics of the "two powers" kind.

Finally, we come to point (d); the emphasis given to the Sinai theophany in the rabbinic refutation of the "two powers" heretics presupposes the superiority of that vision over the visions of the prophets.

From the Mekilta I have taken two examples of the rabbinic view that the Exodus theophanies are superior to the throne visions of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel. The Mekilta on Exod.19:11 gives the following interpretation:

*In the sight of all the people. This teaches that at that moment the people saw what Isaiah and Ezekiel never saw. For it is said "And by the ministry of the prophets have I used similitudes" (Hos.12:11)*

I am following J. Z. Lauterbach's translation who explains in a footnote: "the prophets did not see clear visions, while the people at Sinai did".<sup>40</sup> In another similar passage, the Mekilta specifically refers to Ezekiel's vision of the open heaven.

R. Eliezer says: Whence can you say that a maidservant saw at the sea what Isaiah and Ezekiel and all the prophets never saw? It says about them: "And by the ministry of the prophets have I used similitudes" (Hos.12:11). And it is also written: "The heavens were opened and I saw visions of God" (Ezek.1:1).

*(Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exod.15:2)*

The claim that all Israel saw the Exodus theophanies shows their superiority to the throne-visions which only individual prophets saw. The quotation from Ezek.1:1 may also have in mind the visions of the apocalyptists and merkabah mystics. According to the rabbis the plural 'visions' in Ezek.1:1 allowed a similar interpretation to the interpretation given to Hos.12:11 concerning the word 'similitudes'. The plurality of visions suggested to the rabbis that the visions of the prophets were opaque and inadequate. By contrast, the clarity of the Exodus theophanies is evident for two reasons. Firstly, because there was an immediate recognition of the vision of God. In the refutation of the "two powers" heretics in the Mekilta on Exod.15:2, there is a parable expressing the superior quality of God's appearance at the Red Sea to other versions. The parable concludes, "No one had to ask "Which one is the king?" but as soon as they saw him they recognised him". Secondly, because the vision of God was seen by all the people of Israel. It was not a private vision, even a maidservant saw what the prophets never saw.

I have argued that the argument in Jn.5 includes an interpretation of the Sinai theophany and of Daniel's throne-vision. We saw from my discussion of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and Jn.3:13,14 that according to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus is the heavenly Son of man figure who descends to earth to communicate the vision of God to men. At the conclusion of the Evangelist's account of the public ministry of Jesus, the Fourth Evangelist sums up the effect of Jesus' signs upon his opponents

in the words of the prophet Isaiah. The Evangelist then explicitly refers to Isaiah's throne-vision to give the interpretation of Isa.6:1 that Isaiah saw Jesus who is the glory of God (Jn.12:41)

According to the Fourth Gospel, Isaiah's throne vision has as much authority as the Sinai theophany, and in Jn.5:46 we have an interpretation of the Sinai theophany which is similar to the interpretation of Isaiah's vision. Jesus said to the Jews,

If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me;  
for *he wrote of me.*  
(Jn.5:46)

Compare the comment of the Evangelist on Isa.6:10

These things said Isaiah because he saw his  
glory; and *he spake of him.*  
(Jn.12:41)

We should therefore understand Jesus' promise to Nathanael, of the vision of the open heaven, as a continuation of the prophetic vision of the Son of man given to Moses at Sinai and to the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah and Daniel. This is a denial of the rabbinic claim that the Sinai theophany is superior to the visions of the prophets. The Johannine interpretation of the Sinai theophany also denies any significance to the rabbinic claim that at the Red Sea and at Sinai all Israel saw what the prophets never saw. This denial is explicit in Jn.1:18;5:37 and 6:46. Moses is mentioned in the immediate context of each of these references, and the claim is made that Jesus is the mediator of the vision of God.

In the light of these observations, I wish to conclude with one more example of the rabbinic refutation of the "two powers"



heretics, from the Pesiqta Rabbati. The source is late, probably of the seventh to ninth century C.E., but it is interesting none the less because this time the visions referred to, for the appearances of God as a young man and as an old man, are not the Exodus narratives, but Jacob's vision at Bethel and Isaiah's throne vision (see Gen.28:13 and Isa.6:1).

R. Levi said: God faced them in many guises.  
To one he appeared standing, and to one seated,  
to one as a young man, and to one as an old  
man. How so?  
(Pes.R.21:100b)

R. Levi refutes those who interpret these visions to imply that there are two gods. The refutation includes the same interpretations as the Mekilta, on the Exodus narratives and on Daniel's vision. Although the comment in the Pesiqta Rabbati is attributed to R. Levi, who is from the Palestinian Amoraim of the early fourth century C.E., he is referring to a controversy which appears from other sources to have been contemporary with Akiba and Ishmael. There are perhaps some grounds for considering the Johannine interpretation of the vision of Jacob and of Isaiah in Jn.1:51 and Jn.12:41, to be part of an engagement with an internal controversy within Judaism.<sup>41</sup> We can say more certainly that in Jn.5 Jesus defends his claim to equality with God, and this claim reflects the same issues which involve the rabbinic refutation of the "two powers" heretics.

In the first three chapters of my thesis I have tried to show that there is evidence of a distinctive interpretation of the vision of the heavenly Son of man figure in the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51; Jn.3:13,14 and Jn.5:27. This interpretation shows an

awareness of speculations within apocalyptic Judaism concerning the vision of the open heaven. According to the Fourth Evangelist Moses and the prophets received this vision, and the disciples of Jesus receive the same vision. The prophetic vision of the Son of man takes place on earth as in the Old Testament accounts of the Sinai theophany, and the visions of the prophets. According to the Fourth Gospel no one has ever seen God but the Son of God. Our Evangelist used traditions related to the Danielic figure of "one like unto a son of man" to show that the vision of God was mediated by the Son of man who descended from heaven.

The Johannine interpretation of the prophetic vision of the Son of man on earth opposed claims by apocalyptic visionaries, and rabbis, to have journeyed to heaven to the throne-vision. The interpretation of the vision of God in Jesus gave a continuity of authority from Moses and the prophets, through to the disciples of Jesus in the Johannine Community. The claims made for Jesus by this community, on the one hand, challenged the authoritative hold that the religious leaders of Judaism had on the common people, and, on the other hand, brought the teaching of the Johannine community close to the heretics of the "two powers" kind. In the chapters which follow we shall see how these tensions relate to the community's worship, and to the community's connections with the synagogue.

## CHAPTER FOUR

JOHN 6:27,53,62 THE EUCHARIST OF THE SON OF MAN

ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρωσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν βρωσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν  
 αἰώνιον, ἣν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑμῖν δώσει·  
 τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός...  
 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν  
 σὰρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς...  
 ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῇτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον;

Work not for the meat which perisheth,  
 but for the meat which abideth unto  
 eternal life, which the Son of man shall  
 give unto you: for him the Father, even  
 God, hath sealed...  
 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except  
 ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and  
 drink his blood, ye have not life in  
 yourselves...  
 What then if ye should behold the Son  
 of man ascending where he was before?



According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus addressed these three Son of man sayings to Galilaeans. The first saying corrects the misunderstanding of the Galilaean crowds who witnessed Jesus' sign of the Feeding<sup>s</sup> of the Five Thousand. This miracle is firmly entrenched in the gospel tradition and the Fourth Evangelist retells this gospel story to show that Jesus is the Son of man who descends from heaven. He combines a narrative of the Feeding of the Five Thousand with a discussion of the manna tradition within Judaism. The essence of the Johannine understanding of this tradition is that Jesus is the manna which comes down from heaven. Our Evangelist shows that Jesus is greater than Moses who, the Jews believe, gave the manna and the Torah to Israel.

The discussion between Jesus and the Galilaean Jews changes context from the open air to the synagogue in Capernaum. The Fourth Evangelist attaches significance to this change of context. He shows how the distinctive interpretation of the manna tradition in the Johannine community applies to that community's eucharistic worship. The second Son of man saying, addressed to the synagogue worshippers, highlights the distinctive feature in the community's worship in contrast to the synagogue worship. The believers see themselves as members of the eschatological community. In the eucharistic meal the Son of man is present with them and this vision, is to the believers, the bread of life which gives eternal life and not merely physical sustenance.

This leads us to the third and final Son of man saying in Jn.6 which, according to our Evangelist, Jesus addressed to his

many disciples. With them he refers to the vision of the Son of man. In contrast to the promise of the vision of the Son of man to the disciples in Jn.1:51, here in Jn.6:62 Jesus strikes a warning note to this larger group of disciples. Some of them, like the synagogue worshippers, stumble at the hard saying about eating and drinking the flesh and blood of the Son of man who descends from heaven. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus chooses this moment to reveal that he knows those of his disciples who truly believe in him, and those who do not. Finally we have the Johannine interpretation of Peter's Confession which, like the narrative of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, is firmly rooted in the gospel tradition. The impression is that the Fourth Evangelist uses these gospel traditions to focus the wider issue of belief and unbelief within the Johannine community. The eucharistic worship of that community causes many disciples to fall away, possibly to return to the synagogue worship, and possibly also to inform on other members of the community. The theme of betrayal in Jn.6:64ff suggests this. What is significant about these Son of man sayings in Jn.6 is that, in addition to linking the vision of the Son of man to the signs Jesus performed, the Evangelist applies this vision to the worship of the community of believers.

There is a significant difference in the setting for the Son of man sayings in Jn.6, Jesus is in Galilee where he does not receive a hostile reaction. After the sign he performed by the Sea, the multitude wanted to make him their king. When he explained to them in Capernaum the true nature of his messiahship

they were torn between being his disciples and being members of the synagogue. Here the historical situation of the Johannine community shines through. The Son of man sayings in Jn.6, through the gospel story, are addressed to members of the Johannine community and to those synagogue worshippers who view with suspicion, but are not hostile towards, the emerging sect.

Our Evangelist uses important gospel traditions to show the inadequacy of the belief that Jesus is an earthly Messiah. Through these traditions, and through the discussion of the manna tradition within Judaism, the Evangelist shows that the true Israelite believes Jesus is the Son of God who is the vision of God to man. The Son of man sayings explain that this vision is made possible through the eucharistic worship of the believing community. These believers see themselves as the eschatological community which worships in the presence of the heavenly Son of man. Judgment and salvation upon unbelievers and believers, those who do not see and those who do see the Son of man, are a present reality through this cultic vision.

We will look at each of the Son of man sayings in Jn.6 under the headings 1:The True Bread from Heaven; 2:The True Worshippers; and 3:The True Disciples. These headings provide a useful guideline to the progression of the discussion in Jn.6 in the light of the Son of man sayings. The first saying tells the Galilaean crowd that the Son of man is the true bread which comes down from heaven and gives eternal life. The second saying tells the synagogue worshippers that their worship is inferior to the eucharistic worship of the heavenly Son of man. The third saying



warns those who take part in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community that not all of them are true disciples of Jesus, and therefore not all are true members of the eschatological community.

## 1 : THE TRUE BREAD FROM HEAVEN

According to Jn.6:25-27 Jesus points out to his Galilaean followers the inadequacy of their belief in him as an earthly Messiah: they followed him because of his signs (Jn.6:2). Our Evangelist informs us that after the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand,

They were about to come and take him by force,  
to make him king.<sup>1</sup>  
(Jn.6:15)

The Evangelist possibly adds a clue to this messianic fervour of the Galilaean crowd with the detail that the passover was at hand (Jn.6:4). The passover festival raised the expectation of the coming of the Messiah.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the desire of the Galilaean crowd to take Jesus by force and make him their king should be seen in the context of the passover when popular messianic expectations ran high. Also, the manna tradition is an important theme in the Jewish passover festival. It is the Fourth Evangelist's purpose to connect the timing of the feeding miracle with the passover, in order to give the distinctive Johannine interpretation of the manna tradition expressed in the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27ff. Jesus claimed that he was the bread of life which came down from heaven. He went on to explain that this bread does not merely provide physical sustenance but provides eternal life, through the vision of the Son, to those who believe.

The gospel tradition of the vision of Jesus walking on the water serves the same purpose as the angelophanic form of the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus. The reader learns that the

Galilaean followers, like Nicodemus, saw Jesus' signs but did not see in them the Son of man who descended from heaven. Nicodemus did not see Jesus' signs as a manifestation of his glory in the way that his disciples did, according to Jesus' promise to Nathanael (Jn.1:51;2:11). Similarly the Galilaean crowd did not see Jesus' signs as bearing witness to the heavenly Son of man who can walk on water.

The transition from the Johannine interpretation of the gospel tradition to the discussion on the bread of life comes with a question from the crowd. When they caught up with Jesus in Capernaum they asked him how he had crossed the Sea. The Evangelist describes at length what a puzzle this was to them (6:22-25).

According to Jn.4:45 the Galilaeans had welcomed Jesus into their territory because, like Nicodemus, they had seen the many signs that Jesus had performed at the Passover festival in Jerusalem. According to Jn.6:2 a large crowd of Galilaeans followed Jesus "because they beheld the signs which he did on them that were sick". After the sign of the multiplication of the loaves, the same crowd said, "This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world" (Jn.6:14), so they tried to make Jesus their king. Only his disciples on the boat saw Jesus walking on the sea (Jn.6:19).

Jesus' Galilaean followers seek to make him their king because they see in him a messianic figure who is able to heal the sick, and who, like Moses, is able to provide them with food to meet their physical needs. Therefore when the crowd eventually finds



Jesus again and asks him "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?" Jesus replies to them,

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek me  
not because ye saw signs, but because ye  
ate of the loaves and were filled.  
(Jn.6:26)

This means they did not see Jesus' signs as a manifestation of his glory as his true disciples did. Jesus identifies himself with the bread of life which descends from heaven. Then he explains to the crowd what he meant by the words "Ye seek me, not because ye saw signs". In Jn.6:36-40 he tells the Galilaeans that his signs reveal his heavenly origin and this vision of the Son, through the signs, is the bread of eternal life to those who believe. Recalling his words in Jn.6:26, Jesus explains,

But I said unto you, that ye have seen me,  
and yet believe not...For this is the will  
of my Father, that every one that beholdeth  
the Son, and believeth on him, should have  
eternal life; and I will raise him up at  
the last day.  
(Jn.6:36,40)

The last phrase, "and I will raise him up at the last day", identifies the figure of the Son with the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27. Therefore we come to realise that "the meat which abideth unto eternal life" is, according to the Fourth Gospel, the vision of the open heaven which Jesus promised to Nathanael and the other disciples in Jn.1:51. The story of the disciples seeing Jesus walk on the water explains this dramatically.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of the above, the Son of man saying in Jn.6:27 is well within the orbit of the Johannine interpretation of the apocalyptic vision of the Son of man which I have argued is

present in Jn.1:51;3:13,14 and 5:27. With this interpretation in mind, we can see the key moves the Evangelist makes in the dialogue between Jesus and the Galilaeans in Jn.6:28-34. The various statements of acceptance of Jesus' teaching by the crowd, and the repeated corrections to their understanding by Jesus, lead to the claim that Jesus is the bread of life which came down out of heaven (Jn.6:35, compare v.41). This was the "hard saying" for the Jews of the synagogue, and for his many disciples in Galilee (Jn.6:41,52,60,61).

The argument in Jn.6:28-34 shows at least three aspects in Jesus' teaching whereby the Galilaeans could have misunderstood him because of their different understanding of the messianic hope: firstly, these Galilaean Jews could have understood the "bread of life" to be a reference to the Torah; secondly, they could have understood the manna in the wilderness to be celestial food; and thirdly, they could have taken Jesus to be the eschatological prophet who would teach them all things. We shall now look more closely at each of these possible areas of misunderstanding.

( i) "What must we do, that we may work the works of God?"

v.28. The Galilaeans could have understood the "works of God" to be <sup>obedience to</sup> the commandments of God,<sup>4</sup> taking Jesus' command to "work for the meat which abides to eternal life" in a symbolic or allegorical sense. The imperishable food would then be the Torah. The Torah, according to rabbinic teaching, was the food which gives life both in this world and in the world to come.<sup>5</sup>

I will 'lead them out' in the desert for forty years that they may eat the manna and drink the water of the well and the Torah will be united with their body.

(Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exod.13:17)

R. Aha said: Solomon said (Prov.25:21): "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink". Understand, the bread of the Torah, in accordance with the word (Prov.9:5 Wisdom - Torah, says) Come, eat of my bread, and of the water of the Torah in accordance with the word (Isa.55:1) Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.<sup>6</sup>

(Ber.R.54:1)

According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus understands that the "works of God" enable the identification of the bread of life with the Torah. The Evangelist modifies the rabbinic teaching by identifying Jesus with the bread of life. He describes the "bread of God" as that which "gives life to the world". In the rabbinic writings, the Torah is variously described as that which gives life to Israel, and that which gives life to the world:<sup>7</sup>

As water is life for the world, so also the words of Torah are life for the world.

(Siphre on Deut.11:22)

The understanding of the Torah as life for the world is also behind the rabbinic teaching concerning the "stranger" outside Israel:

A proselyte (גֵּר) asked the meaning of Deut.10:18. 'The Lord loveth the stranger (גֵּר), in giving him bread and raiment' (לֶחֶם וְכִסְיוֹ). R. Joshua interpreted it thus: "bread means the Torah, as it is written (Prov.9:5): Come, eat of my bread (sc. the bread of wisdom); 'raiment means the scholar's robe; if a man gets Torah, he gets the scholar's robe'".

(Ber.R.70:5)



We have seen that the Jews of Jerusalem looked down on the Galilaeans as "accursed" and without hope of salvation. The zeal of the Galilaean crowd to make Jesus their king was hardly abated by these words of Jesus. They confirmed to them that the Torah was the bread which gave life to the world, and that Jesus was the prophet like Moses who would give them understanding of the Torah. The Galilaeans could therefore continued to believe that Jesus was "the prophet".

- ( ii) "Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, He gave them bread out of heaven to eat" (v.31). The Galilaeans could have understood the manna to be celestial food. We do not need to turn to rabbinic evidence for the possible background to this concept. We have it in scripture:

Yet he commanded the skies above  
and opened the doors of heaven;  
and he rained down upon them manna to eat,  
and gave them the grain of heaven.  
Man ate of the bread of the angels;  
and he sent them food in abundance.<sup>e</sup>  
(Ps.78:24,25)

The Galilaeans therefore could accept the antithesis of the perishable and imperishable food. They were still not deterred from seeing in Jesus "the prophet that comes into the world". Connected with this understanding of the manna as celestial food is the apocalyptic concept of the messianic banquet, an important passover theme. At the time when the Messiah is about to be revealed, the members of the kingdom are fed manna from above, together with the meat of

Leviathan.<sup>9</sup> This manna is the food of the age to come.

R. Eleazar Hisma says: Ye shall not find it  
(the manna) in this age, but ye shall find  
it in the age that is coming.  
(Mekilta on Exod.16:25, compare Rev.2:17)

Jesus' words in Jn.6:26 could imply that this sign was about  
to be performed in order that they might believe on him:

What did the first redeemer? He brought  
down the manna. And the last redeemer  
will bring down the manna.<sup>10</sup>  
(Qoh.R.1:19)

The Galilaeans possibly accepted the messianic setting  
for the giving of this celestial food and looked for a  
repetition of the gift of manna from heaven. In Jn.6:26,27,  
Jesus' solemn denial that they had followed him because they  
had seen signs did not raise doubts in their minds as to  
whether or not Jesus was a messianic figure. They went on  
to ask, in effect, "What kind of messianic figure are you  
then?"<sup>11</sup>

In the Mekilta there is an interpretation which links the  
keeping of the Torah with the manna traditions. This runs  
closely parallel to the Fourth Gospel's dialogue between  
Jesus and the Galilaeans here in John 6. The rabbinic  
passage explains that Elijah will return and restore the  
manna to Israel, as a reward for being busy with the Torah.

For when the prophet Jeremiah said to the  
Israelites: Why do you not busy yourselves  
with the Torah? they said to him: If we  
be kept busy with the words of the Torah  
how will we get our sustenance? Then Jeremiah  
brought forth to them the bottle containing  
the manna and said to them: "O generation,  
see ye the thing of the Lord" (Jer.2:31).

See with what your forefathers, who busied themselves with the words of the Torah were provided. You, too, if you will busy yourselves with the words of the Torah, God will provide you with sustenance of this sort. And this is one of the three things which Elijah will, in the future, restore to Israel: The bottle of manna, the bottle of sprinkling water, and the bottle of anointing oil...<sup>12</sup>

(Mekilta on Exod.16:33)

In the light of my analysis of the dialogue in Jn.6:28-34, this passage from the Mekilta could fairly represent the thinking of the Galilaeans when they look to Jesus for a repetition of the manna "sign".

Jesus made a further modification in his reply. He denied that Moses had given them the bread out of heaven (Jn.6:32). According to our Evangelist Jesus introduced this denial with the solemn introductory formula "Verily, verily, I say unto you..." as at v.26, and again Jesus drew the antithesis between perishable and imperishable food. The Galilaeans thought they had seen a sign which proved Jesus to be the eschatological prophet. Jesus told them they had only eaten perishable food. The Galilaeans possibly thought the manna sign of Moses was imperishable heavenly food. Jesus told them it was only perishable food. Compare Jesus' words to the synagogue worshippers at Capernaum:

Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness, and they died.  
(Jn.6:49)

The true bread which the Father gives; which comes down out of heaven; and which gives life to the world, is the "meat



which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of man shall give" (Jn.6:27, compare vv.32,33). Yet still these Galilaean followers are able to put their hope in Jesus with the request, "Lord, evermore give us this bread" (Jn.6:34).

(iii) How are we to explain this reaction to Jesus' teaching in Jn.6:26,27 and vv.32,33? The Galilaeans, like Nicodemus, recognised Jesus to be a man sent from God because of the signs he performed. Nicodemus had approached Jesus as a fellow rabbi as though he, "the teacher of Israel", might learn something from Jesus, "a teacher come from God". However, the Galilaean crowd's faith in Jesus perhaps went a little further than his because,

(a) there are grounds for thinking that many of these Galilaean followers were baptised;<sup>13</sup>

(b) they considered Jesus to be the fulfilment of their messianic hopes.<sup>14</sup>

The sign of the Feeding of the Five Thousand to their mind resembled Moses' sign of the manna in the wilderness, which he gave to the Israelites. When they acclaimed Jesus as "the prophet that cometh into the world", they saw in Jesus the fulfilment of the prophecy in Deuteronomy:

I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.

(Deut.18:18)

This prophet would explain to the people of Israel the meaning of the law and the prophets at the time of the coming of the messianic age. The belief of the Samaritan

woman expresses this popular messianic hope:

The woman saith unto him, I know that Messiah  
cometh (which is called Christ): when he is  
come, he will declare unto us all things.  
(Jn.4:25)

It is possible that the Galilaean followers accepted Jesus, as the prophet, telling them his teaching of the Torah was the bread which comes out of heaven. We find the same symbolic interpretation of the Law of Moses in the rabbinic writings. Bread is used as a symbol of the Torah and so is water.<sup>15</sup> Jesus' reply to their request: "Lord, evermore give us this bread", appears to acknowledge that they were making a symbolic request for the teaching of the Torah from the prophet of the age to come, because Jesus refers not only to the hunger for this bread but also to the thirst for water (Jn.6:35). According to the rabbinic writings the Torah is both bread and water.

At this point, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus exposes the limitations in the understanding of the Galilaean followers. They are prepared to recognise Jesus as an earthly messianic figure, the prophet like Moses who gives manna from heaven and the teaching of the Torah to the Israelites, but they do not believe that Jesus himself is the one who comes down from heaven. Jesus therefore identifies himself with the symbols of Torah in order to point them to his heavenly origin. He is not merely a Messiah who gives manna and Torah to the people as Moses did, he is himself the one who descends from heaven (compare

Jn.1:17,18). At this point the Galilaean Jews begin to murmur.

According to the Johannine discourse in Jn.6, the vision of the Son is the bread of eternal life.

For this is the will of my Father, that  
everyone that beholdeth the Son, and  
believeth on him, should have eternal life;  
and I will raise him up at the last day.  
(Jn.6:40, and see vv.39,44,54)

In Jn.6 the vision of the Son of man is associated with the Sinai theophany as it is in Jn.5 (see particularly Jn.6:27,46 and compare Jn.5:27,37). We have seen this to be the case in the dialogue with the Galiliaean followers in Jn.6, and the same is the case in the continuation of the dialogue with the Synagogue worshippers. The Sinai theophany and the manna in the wilderness remain prominent topics.



## 2 : THE TRUE WORSHIPPERS

Ἐμάχοντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 λέγοντες· πῶς δύναται οὗτος ἡμῖν δοῦναι τὴν  
 σὰρκα [αὐτοῦ] φαγεῖν; εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σὰρκα  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα,  
 οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

(Jn. 6:52,53)

The Jews therefore strove one with another,  
 saying How can this man give us his flesh  
 to eat? Jesus therefore said unto them,  
 Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye  
 eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink  
 his blood, ye have not life in yourselves.

In Jn. 6:41 and v. 52 the Evangelist refers to Jesus audience as "the Jews". An explanation for the introduction of this term, in the continuation of Jesus' dialogue with the Galilaeans, may be that, according to Jn. 6:59, Jesus was continuing this discussion in the synagogue at Capernaum. The Son of man saying in Jn. 6:53 is addressed to these synagogue worshippers. This saying suggests the *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine community because it describes the eucharistic worship of the believers. Through the Fourth Evangelist's account of the gospel story, he expresses the contrast between the two worshipping communities, and also the tension within each community. This tension is caused by the claim that Jesus is the one who descended from heaven, and who gives his flesh and blood to those who worship him.

According to Jn. 6:41 the Galilaean Jews murmur at Jesus'

claim to have descended from heaven. They know his parents (Jn.6:43). They ask "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" The emphasis is upon the words "this man". The Galilaean Jews can accept that the living bread which gives eternal life comes down out of heaven (Jn.6:51), but they cannot accept that Jesus is that living bread because they know his parents and they do not believe that he descended from heaven.

I mentioned earlier that the Galilaean Jews in Jn.6 are not the same as the Jews of Jerusalem, elsewhere in the Gospel, who are hostile toward Jesus.<sup>14</sup> According to our Evangelist, in Capernaum the synagogue worshippers are divided among themselves concerning who Jesus is. In Jn.6:41 they "murmured concerning him", and in Jn.6:52 they "strove one with another". However, in this respect they are no different from Jesus' disciples. According to Jn.6:61, Jesus' disciples also murmured.

It is possible that some special significance is attached to this murmuring in Jn.6. In Jn.6:41 the synagogue worshippers are the subject of the verb "to murmur". According to Jn.6:43 Jesus repeats this verb with reference to the same Galilaean Jews. There is perhaps an interesting link here with a detail found only in the Johannine account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Our Evangelist explains why Jesus asked Philip where they might get bread for the crowd to eat:

*ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΉΛΕΓΕΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΪΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ.*  
(Jn.6:6)

In the Septuagint the same Greek verbs for "to test" and "to murmur" occur in the narrative of the manna in the wilderness

(Exod.16:1-12).<sup>17</sup> There would perhaps be no significance in the Evangelist's use of these words, but for the fact that John alone attaches a discourse on the manna in the wilderness to the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. This manna tradition is as prominent in the dialogue with the synagogue worshippers earlier in the dialogue with the crowd:

Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness, and they died....  
(Jn.6:49)

This is the bread which came down out of heaven: not as the fathers did eat, and died.  
(Jn.6:58)

In Exod.16:1-12 the verb "to murmur" and the noun translated, "murmuring" occur no less than eight times. In Exod.16:4 Yahweh told Moses that he was going "to test" Israel, whether they would walk in his Law or not. Jesus, who does the works of God, and is the living bread (Jn.6:51), has life in himself like the Father (Jn.6:57, compare Jn.5:21,26). He therefore puts the Twelve disciples to the test. In Jn.6 they alone are found faithful and are the true Israelites.<sup>18</sup> There is possibly a contrast between, on the one hand, the Twelve, and on the other hand, the synagogue Jews together with the "many disciples" in the Johannine community, who murmur against the claim that Jesus is worthy to be worshipped at the eucharist. According to the Fourth Evangelist these Galilaean Jews, and many of Jesus' disciples, were like the Israelites who murmured in the wilderness against Yahweh. Moses told Aaron to summon the congregation of the children of Israel before the Lord because he had heard their murmurings. Then the



glory of the Lord appeared to them in the cloud and the Lord told the congregation of Israel that, when they eat the flesh and are filled with the bread that he will provide, they will know he is the Lord their God. In contrast, Jesus' Galilaean followers "ate of the loaves and were filled" but did not see the glory of God in Jesus' signs.

And Moses said, This shall be, when the LORD shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; for that the LORD heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD. And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your murmurings. And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of the LORD appeared in the cloud. And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God.  
(Exod.16:8-12)

In Jn.6, the narrative of the giving of the manna to the Israelites is reinterpreted in the context of the eschatological community. In the eucharistic worship, the members believe they are in the presence of the heavenly Son of man. Therefore Jesus warns those disciples who murmur,

What then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?  
(Jn.6:62)

The Fourth Evangelist identifies this vision with the vision of the glory of the Lord (compare Exod.16:7,10). When the believers come to worship they "come near before" the heavenly Son

of man who has heard their murmurings (compare Exod.16:9).

The Galilaean followers sought Jesus to make him king not because they saw the glory of the Son of man but because they "ate of the loaves, and were filled". Like the Israelites in the wilderness, they were in danger of murmuring in the presence of the Lord because they worked only for the meat that perishes, not for the spiritual food of knowing the Lord and seeing the vision of God in Jesus.

E. C. Hoskyns writes,

The murmuring of the Jews corresponds with the murmuring of their fathers in the desert. They preserve the genuine succession of unbelief.~~24~~ 19

The allusion to the narrative in Exodus 16, throughout the narrative and discourse in Jn.6, helps the reader of the Fourth Gospel to distinguish between those true Israelites who receive the vision of the open heaven (Jn.1:47,51), and those many disciples of Jesus who murmur like the synagogue worshippers and eventually "walk no more with him" (Jn.6:66).<sup>20</sup>

In the historical context of the Johannine community the synagogue worshippers murmured and strove with one another concerning the belief of a sect. This sect worshipped one they knew to be Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph. A distinctive feature in the sect's worship was that when its members ate bread and drank wine together, in the eucharist, they believed they were eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Jesus, the one they worshipped as the heavenly Son of man. They imply that not Yahweh but the Son of man was present with the congregation of Israel in

the wilderness; the true bread from heaven; the one present in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. This belief caused some members of the community to murmur and to fall away from the true believers who saw themselves as the true Israelites.<sup>21</sup>

I now want to look briefly at an example of sectarian worship of the first century C.E. in order to substantiate what I have argued to be the background and interpretation behind the Son of man saying in Jn.6:53.

The Qumran community gave importance to secret knowledge, and to visions, in the context of the congregational worship. Likewise, the Johannine community gave a cultic setting to the vision of the Son of man using exegetical traditions related to the vision of the merkabah. Both sectarian communities gave importance to priesthood and prophecy in contrast to the synagogue. Both groups also saw themselves as exclusive eschatological communities for whom the "age to come" was already breaking in. This is evident in the forms of worship, and in the hymns of the sectarian groups.<sup>22</sup> The rise of apocalypticism gave the cultic worship of the Jewish sectarians a more "realised eschatology" than the Psalmists of the Old Testament experienced. The new prophetic spirit went beyond the symbolic acts of the Old Testament prophets. The cultic vision united the heavenly congregation with the earthly congregation in the worship of the Lord: the worshippers were already clothed with spiritual garments; possessed the gnosis promised for the Age to Come; and saw visions of the heavenly glory.



Two fragments from Qumran popularly referred to as 'The Angelic Liturgy' serve to show the importance of Jewish mysticism for the cultic worship of the community.<sup>23</sup> One fragment describes the union of heavenly and earthly worship in which the seven principal angels from the throne of God give blessings upon the community of the righteous in heaven and on earth. This worship coincides with the giving of the Sabbath offering. Each of the princely angels bless with "seven marvellous words" first the "upright" on earth, then "the Gods" in heaven, that both may "obtain His glorious favours": "praise him forever"; and "obtain everlasting peace". Each blessing begins with the words "In the name of...". For example, the fourth blessing reads:

In the name of the King's majesty,  
 (the fourth sovereign) Prince shall bless  
 with seven (majestic) words  
 (all who) walk (up) rightly.  
 He shall bless all who lay the foundations  
 of (truth)  
 with seven (marvellous) words.  
 He shall bless all the gods (who exhalt)  
 true knowledge  
 (with seven) righteous words  
 (that they may obtain) His glorious favours.<sup>24</sup>

The other fragment from the "Angelic Liturgy" describes the merkabah. In the Thanksgiving Hymns and in the Manual of Discipline the possession of special gnosis has a cultic setting and is part of the imagery of the Paradise motif. We should not therefore be surprised to find that the merkabah vision also has a cultic setting. Throne mysticism replaces the symbolism of the cultic psalms. The eschatological community already experiences the breaking in of the age to come. The presence of God is no longer represented by the ark in the temple. The community itself

is the spiritual temple.<sup>25</sup> The members do not ask, how long?  
They are living in the immediate coming of the eschaton.

...the (ministers) of the Glorious Face in the abode of (the gods) of knowledge fall down before Him, (and the Cheru) bim utter blessings. And as they rise up, there is a divine small voice...and loud praise: (there is) a divine (small) voice as they fold their wings.

The Cherubim bless the image of the Throne-Chariot above the firmament, and they praise the (majesty) of the fiery firmament beneath the seat of His glory. And between the turning wheels, Angels of Holiness come and go, as it were a fiery vision of most holy spirits; and about them (flow) seeming rivulets of fire, like gleaming bronze, a radiance of many gorgeous colours, of marvellous pigments magnificently mingled. The spirits of the Living God move perpetually with the glory of the wonderful Chariot. The small voice of blessing accompanies the tumult as they depart, and on the path of their return they worship the Holy One. Ascending, they rise marvellously; settling, they (stay) still. The sound of joyful praise is silenced and there is a small voice of blessing in all the camp of God. And a voice of praise (resounds) from the midst of all their divisions in (worship of)...and each one in his place, all their numbered ones sing hymns of praise.

("The Divine Throne Chariot" - fragment from "The Angelic Liturgy")

In the Qumran liturgical fragment known as "The Blessing of the Priests", the crown of glory consists of the blessings recited by the president of the congregation and the garment of majesty is the garment of the Angel of the Presence which is prominent in merkabah mystical texts:

...may everlasting blessings be the crown upon your head!...

(For) He has chosen you (to)...and to number the saints and to (bless) your people...the men of the Council of God by your hand, and not by the hand of a prince...

May you be as an Angel of the Presence in  
the Abode of Holiness to the glory of the  
God of (hosts)...

May you attend upon the service in the Temple  
of the Kingdom and decree destiny in company  
with the Angels of the Presence, in common  
council (with the Holy Ones) for everlasting  
ages and time without end; for (all) His  
judgements are (truth)!

May He make you holy among His people, and  
an (eternal) light (to illumine) the world  
with knowledge and to enlighten the face of  
the Congregation (with wisdom)!

(May He) consecrate you to the Holy of Holies!

For (you are made) holy for Him and you shall  
glorify His Name and His holiness....

(from "The Blessing of the Priests", IV)

The President first blessed the whole congregation then the  
priestly head, the Messiah of Aaron. Next, he blessed the Sons of  
Zadok, the priests, and finally the Prince of the Congregation,  
the Messiah of Israel. G. Vermes suggests that these blessings  
were intended for the Messianic Age and were used in the  
community's liturgy in symbolic anticipation of the Messianic  
era.<sup>26</sup> However, the affinity between the imagery and  
symbolism in the Qumran texts, with that of Jewish mysticism  
suggests more than just an "anticipation" of the Messianic Age.

I would agree with D. E. Aune that in the light of the  
importance of knowledge and vision in the cultic setting of the  
Qumran community this sect probably understood the worship of the  
community to be united with that of the angelic congregation in  
heaven:

Thou hast cleansed a perverse spirit of  
great sin  
that it may stand with the host of the  
Holy Ones,  
and that it may enter into community  
with the congregation of the Sons of  
Heaven.



(Thanksgiving Hymn 3:23)

May Thy Name be praised  
by the mouth of all men!  
May they bless Thee forever  
in accordance with (their understanding),  
and proclaim thee with the voice of praise  
in the company of (The Sons of Heaven)!  
(Thanksgiving Hymn 11:24)

To sum up, the Qumran community understood itself to be the eschatological community, and the worshippers in that community probably believed that they sang their hymns to God in the presence of angels. This worship gave importance to the prophetic spirit, to esoteric knowledge, and to visions, including the vision of the merkabah.

The Fourth Gospel portrays the spiritual worship of a Jewish sect. On the one hand we see a parallel in the apocalyptic concepts of the Qumran community (for example, in the dualism of light and darkness and in the importance of Jewish mystical traditions):<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, we see the sharp conflict between the synagogue worship and the Johannine community's worship. We have seen in Jn.5 and Jn.6 an exegetical debate within Judaism concerning the Sinai theophany and prophetic visions. In Jn.3 the Evangelist describes Jesus in the role of an angelic messenger who addresses the teacher of Israel, a Pharisee and a ruler of the Jews. This teacher is, perhaps, respected as one who understands visions and has knowledge of the heavenly world.<sup>28</sup> However, the Fourth Gospel attempts to show that religious leaders of the Jews are unable to understand such things because they reject the baptism and the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community.

Therefore the Fourth Gospel makes a rival claim to the knowledge of "heavenly things". This knowledge is contained in the cultic vision of the Son of man in the eucharistic worship of the community.

In the Johannine church the vision of the Son of man gave knowledge of "heavenly things" to the eschatological, gathered community. This would present a great threat to the synagogue authorities particularly in Galilee where institutional faith was mixed with a more popular folk-religion and caused some Jews to be attracted to the new charismatic community.<sup>29</sup> For this reason the Galilaean Jews are not hostile towards Jesus, whereas the rulers in Jerusalem are. Instead the Evangelist describes these Jews as divided among themselves concerning this newly emerging sect.

To conclude, according to our Evangelist, Jesus addressed the synagogue worshippers in Jn.6:41-59. This dialogue shows the nature of the tensions felt by the church and the synagogue in the historical situation of the Johannine community. The Son of man saying in Jn.6:53 shows how the community understood its eucharistic worship, applying the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the heavenly Son of man. To put the matter succinctly, Jesus went a stage further in what he told these Galilaean Jews, in contrast to what he had earlier told Nicodemus: "Unless you bear witness not only through baptism, but also through participation in the eucharistic worship of the eschatological community, you do not have eternal life".

Although our Evangelist does not describe the synagogue

worshippers as hostile towards Jesus, he does point out that the division in the synagogue concerning Jesus is reflected also among Jesus' followers. This division has much more serious consequences.



## 3 : THE TRUE DISCIPLES

Πολλοὶ οὖν ἀκούσαντες ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν  
αὐτοῦ εἶπαν· σκληρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος οὗτος·  
τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν; εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι γογγύζουσιν περὶ τούτου οἱ  
μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦτο ὑμᾶς  
σκन्दάλίζει; ἂν οὖν θεωρῇτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον;

(Jn. 6:60-62)

Many therefore of his disciples, when they heard this, said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it? But Jesus knowing in himself that his disciples murmured at this, said unto them, Doth this cause you to stumble? What then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?

After describing the reaction of the Jews to the Son of man saying in Jn. 6:53, the Fourth Evangelist turns our attention toward the same reaction of <sup>many of</sup> Jesus' ~~many~~ disciples to this σκληρὸς λόγος. The Evangelist shows that there are those in the Johannine community who are one with the synagogue worshippers. They murmur concerning Jesus, the heavenly Son of man (Jn. 6:41, 61, compare Jn. 7:12). According to the Evangelist this murmuring leads to betrayal, and the Son of man, who is present in the eucharistic worship of the eschatological community, condemns those who murmur and betray. Before I explain this understanding of the vision of the Son of man in Jn. 6:62, I shall recall the main points that have emerged from my discussion of the earlier

Son of man sayings in Jn.6, to show their relation to Jn.6:62.

In Jn.6:27, Jesus addressed his Galilaean followers. They were zealous to make him their king. They recognised Jesus to be the prophet because of the feeding sign. Through the Son of man saying, and through the Johannine interpretation of the manna tradition, the Evangelist shows the inadequacy of their popular messianic hopes. Jesus is the heavenly Son of man, the true bread which comes down from heaven, who mediates the vision of God to men (Jn.6:27,40). According to the Evangelist, the crowd failed to see that Jesus' signs bore witness to his heavenly origin.

The Evangelist associates these followers of Jesus, "the multitude" (ὁ ὄχλος Jn.6:1,2,22,24), with the synagogue worshippers at Capernaum whom he calls 'the Jews'.<sup>30</sup> They murmured at Jesus' claim that he was the bread which came down out of heaven (Jn.6:41). According to the Evangelist, Jesus addressed to them a Son of man saying which reflects the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. In the Synagogue, Jesus told these Jews that they must eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood if they were to have eternal life. Here, the Fourth Evangelist vividly depicts a division between a church and the synagogue. He shows that this division involves rival interpretations of the Sinai theophany and rival interpretations of the manna tradition, two central themes in the worship of both communities. The Johannine interpretation of the throne visions of the prophets enables the Fourth Evangelist to show that the heavenly Son of man is present in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community.

Each Son of man saying in Jn.6 is central to the Johannine reinterpretation of narratives in the gospel tradition. These sayings caused both the Jews, and many of Jesus' disciples to murmur. The Evangelist shows that some of these disciples return to the synagogue because they cannot accept the Johannine interpretation of the eucharist. In Jn.6:60ff, the Evangelist emphasises the eschatological nature of the Johannine community through the vision of the Son of man; the dualism of flesh and spirit; and the presence of the 'devil' (Jn.6:70). With the exception of Judas, the twelve are the exemplary, chosen disciples. They believe in Jesus, see his glory, and remain with him.

In Jn.6:60ff there are four significant links with the rest of Jn.6, which I wish to bring to our attention: firstly, the murmuring of the many disciples; secondly, the vision of the Son of man; thirdly, the chosen disciples; and finally, Judas the betrayer. We shall now look briefly at each of these features.

( i ) The murmuring of the many disciples (Jn.6:61)

We have already seen the significance of the murmuring of the Jews of the synagogue and the probable allusion to the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness (Exodus 16).

The Evangelist showed that the synagogue Jews murmured at Jesus' hard saying to the multitude. In Jn.6:60,61 the Evangelist shows that many of Jesus' disciples murmured because of his hard saying to the synagogue Jews. The Evangelist links these Galilaean disciples with the Galilaean he encountered by the sea and in the synagogue at Capernaum. In Jn.6:52 the Fourth Evangelist repeats



that those Jews strove with one another saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?". On that occasion, according to our Evangelist, Jesus confronted those who murmured with a Son of man saying which confirmed that he was the bread which came down out of heaven. Similarly, in Jn.6:62 Jesus confronted the many disciples who murmured over the same issue with another Son of man saying. The saying to the Jews referred to the eucharist. The Evangelist informs us that Jesus spoke these words in the synagogue at Capernaum (Jn.6:59), then abruptly turns our attention to the many disciples of Jesus. The allusion to the eucharist and the contrast between the synagogue worshippers and Jesus' disciples points to the historical situation of the Johannine community. The implication of Jn.6:60-65 is that some in the Johannine community are really playing into the hands of the synagogue worshippers when they murmur against the worship of Jesus as the heavenly Son of man.

( ii) The Vision of the Son of man (Jn.6:62)

In Jn.6:53 the Son of man saying to the synagogue worshippers stated the need for the Galilaean Jews to participate in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community if they were to receive eternal life. In the Son of man saying in Jn.6:62 the Fourth Gospel shows that the vision of the Son of man is possible to those disciples who already participate in the eucharistic worship of the community.

What then if ye should behold the Son of  
man ascending where he was before?  
(Jn.6:62)

According to Jn.3:14 there is a similar possibility of

receiving the vision of the ascended Son of man. Nicodemus in Jn.3 and some of the disciples in Jn.6 do not believe that Jesus is the heavenly Son of man who ascends to where he was before (Jn.3:13,15, compare Jn.6:62,64). They are both like the many at the passover festival whom Jesus did not trust (Jn.2:23,24 and see Jn.3:2). The Evangelist makes a similar comment about Jesus' knowledge of the many disciples in Jn.6:64,

For Jesus knew from the beginning who they  
were that believed not.  
(Jn.6:64)

According to Jn.3:5,6 Jesus told Nicodemus that he must be baptised if he wished to see the Kingdom of God and to enter that kingdom. The possibility of eternal life came through belief in the vision of the Son of man in Jesus lifted up on the cross (Jn.3:14). In Jn.6:60-65 the Evangelist shows that baptism does not guarantee a vision of the ascended Son of man. These disciples are baptised (Jn.6:60,61, compare Jn.4:1), but they must continually bear witness to the vision of the Son of man by participating in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community (see Jn.3:5 and compare Jn.13:10 in the light of Jn.6:53,62). In Jn.6:66 we learn that "many of (Jesus') disciples went back, and walked no more with him", then the Evangelist contrasts the many disciples with those who were promised the vision of the Son of man.

### (iii) The chosen disciples

Just as in the context of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51 and 3:13,14, the Evangelist contrasts the true Israelite with the teacher of Israel so also in the context of the Son of Man saying

in Jn.6:62 the Evangelist contrasts the true disciples with the many disciples. Each of these sayings refers to the vision of the Son of man. In Jn.1:51 the vision is not just a possibility, but a promise. In contrast to the Israelites who murmur, Nathanael is the true Israelite within the Johannine community and he represents those disciples who receive the promise of the vision of the Son of man. Immediately after this promise in Jn.1:51, Jesus manifested his glory to them and they believed on Jesus (Jn.2:11). The Evangelist distinguished this sign in Galilee from the signs which the festival crowds saw in Jerusalem (Jn.2:23-25).

In Jn.6:1-26 the Evangelist makes a similar contrast using familiar narratives in the gospel tradition, the feeding miracle and the vision of Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee. The Evangelist retells the stories to show again that the promise of the vision of the Son of man given to the chosen disciples is fulfilled through Jesus' signs. When they saw Jesus walking on the water they saw another manifestation of his heavenly glory. However, the Galilaean followers in Jn.6:2 did not see Jesus walking on the water. They saw only an earthly figure whom they sought to make their Messiah. They did not see a manifestation of Jesus' heavenly glory.

At the conclusion of Jn.6, the Evangelist uses another familiar gospel story to bring out this contrast, within the Johannine community, between the chosen disciples and the many disciples who "walk no more" with Jesus. In Jn.6:66ff we have the Johannine interpretation of the Confession of Peter. According to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus did not ask "Who do men say that I



am?" and Peter did not reply that Jesus was the Christ (see Mk.8:27-29 par.). Instead Jesus asked, "Would you also go away?" and Peter replies, as spokesman for the twelve, that they believe Jesus to be the Holy One of God. This version of Peter's Confession is adapted to the theme of murmuring and betrayal in Jn.6. It reflects the historical situation of the Johannine community (see Jn.6:65-70 and compare I Jn.2:19,20).

The reference to "the twelve" seems unusual in the Fourth Gospel, but the Evangelist does not merely bow to the Synoptic tradition here. We have seen him modify that tradition quite freely. The term "the twelve" has a particular significance in the context of Jn.6. I argued that the promise of the vision of the Son of man in Jn.1:51 includes the resurrection appearances of Jesus. The only other occurrence of the term "the twelve", outside Jn.6:67-71, is in Jn.20:24. The Evangelist shows Thomas, "one of the twelve", receiving the vision of the risen and ascended Jesus (Jn.20:26 compare v.17). The Evangelist adds that this vision took place "after eight days", the day of worship of the Johannine community (compare Jn.6:53,62); that Thomas consequently worshipped Jesus (Jn.20:28); and finally, that Jesus drew attention to the signs which the twelve had seen (Jn.20:29 and see v.30). Each of these features is relevant to the context of Jn.6:66ff.

There is, however, one further significance in the Johannine use of the term "the twelve" in Jn.6:66ff. The Evangelist wishes to stress that those who murmur within the Johannine community are like Judas, the one who betrays Jesus.

( iv) Judas the betrayer

The references to Judas's betrayal of Jesus in Jn.6:64,70,71 recall the context of the eucharistic worship of the believers. According to the Synoptic tradition Judas betrayed Jesus to the Jews on the night of the Last Supper, on the eve of the passover. In the Johannine version of the night of betrayal the Evangelist emphasizes the role of Judas. He links the final Son of man saying in the Fourth Gospel to Judas's act of betrayal,

When therefore he was gone out, Jesus saith,  
Now is the Son of man glorified.  
(Jn.13:31)

The Evangelist associates Judas with the many disciples who murmured and who eventually "walked no more" with Jesus when he comments that,

Jesus knew from the beginning who they were  
that believed not, and who it was that should  
betray him.  
(Jn.6:64 see also Jn.6:61,66)

Through the association of the vision of the Son of man with the worship of the Johannine community the Evangelist shows the judgment of the Son of man upon those who murmur. The dualism between the flesh and the spirit, and the dualism between those of the devil (Jn.6:70, compare Jn.8:44) and those chosen of the Father (Jn.6:65, compare v.70), emphasises this eschatological understanding of the Johannine community. There is a similarity between Jn.6:66ff and a passage in the First Letter of John which describes those who leave the Johannine community as antichrists, and those who remain as having an anointing from "the Holy One":

Little children, it is the last hour: and as  
ye heard that antichrist cometh, even now

have there arisen many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us they would have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest how that they all are not of us. And ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and ye know all things.

(1 Jn.2:18-20)

The Fourth Evangelist expresses the tensions within the Johannine community through the retelling of the gospel story.<sup>31</sup> These tensions are much more to the foreground ~~of~~ in the next Son of man saying, in Jn.8:28.



## CHAPTER FIVE

JOHN 8:28; 12:23; 13:31

## THE EXALTATION AND GLORIFICATION OF THE SON OF MAN

εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν  
υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι  
ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ  
καθὼς ἐδίδαξέν με ὁ πατήρ ταῦτα λαλῶ.

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκρίνεται αὐτοῖς λέγων·  
ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου.

"Ὅτε οὖν ἐξῆλθεν, λέγει Ἰησοῦς· νῦν  
ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ  
θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ.

Jesus therefore said, When ye have lifted  
up the Son of man, then shall ye know that  
I am he, and that I do nothing of myself,  
but as the Father taught me, I speak these  
things.

And Jesus answereth (Andrew and Philip),  
saying, The hour is come, that the Son of  
man should be glorified.

When therefore (Judas) was gone out,  
Jesus saith,

Now is the Son of man glorified and God  
is glorified in him.

These three Son of man sayings refer to Jesus' death on the  
cross. This is explicit in Jn.8:28; it is explained in Jn.12:24  
for the saying in v.23; and it is implied in Jn.13:31 because  
Jesus' death is a consequence of Judas's betrayal. Betrayal  
continues within the Johannine community. Therefore the

Evangelist identifies the moment of Jesus' being lifted up, his glorification, with the moment when a disciple turns away from following him.

The Fourth Evangelist reinterprets the passion of the Son of man in the Synoptic Gospels in order to express the continuing passion of the Son of man through his disciples within the Johannine community. Through the continuing betrayal, the true disciples bear witness to the heavenly Son of man who is therefore exalted and glorified through their faithful witness in the face of persecution. The true disciples tread the same path as their master (Jn.15:20). We saw, in the Son of man sayings in Jn.6, how the Evangelist weaved into the warp and weft of well-known gospel narratives the significance of those who murmur within the Johannine community. There the Evangelist hinted that this complaining leads to betrayal. In comparison with Jn.8, Jn.6 was the calmer waters before the storm. We had a glimpse that a storm was brewing. I now want to show how the Evangelist describes the nature of the storm. To do this I shall concentrate on the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28:

Jesus therefore said, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things.

According to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus is speaking to the Jews. In Jn.8:21 Jesus told them of his departure from them, but they could not understand what he meant. When Jesus address<sup>ed</sup> this Son of man saying to them "many believed on him" (Jn.8:30), but he immediately challenged their claim to discipleship (Jn.8:31). At

the end of a dialogue of growing conflict these Jews tried to stone him (Jn.8:59). The Jews moved from belief to hostile unbelief in the course of their dialogue with Jesus. First, in the context of the Fourth Gospel, we will try to identify these Jews more precisely. Second, in the light of a brief comparison between the passion-type Son of man sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Johannine passion-type sayings, we shall see how these Jews might have misunderstood the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28. Third, with the help of interpretative traditions within Judaism, related to the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics, we shall see a possible reason why the Jews changed their mind about Jesus. They tried to stone him when they realised they had misunderstood the meaning of the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28.

In each of these sections of the argument we will see that the dialogue in Jn.8 reflects the historical context of the Johannine community. This is evident from the Son of man saying itself. It is hardly possible that this prediction by Jesus to his enemies, that they would be responsible for his death, caused them to believe in him. Most probably Jn.8:28-30 reflects the kerygma of the church which held the Jews responsible for Jesus' death, and called upon them to repent, but this is to anticipate my argument.



## 1 : THE JEWS WHO BELIEVE IN JESUS

The saying concerning Jesus' departure, in Jn.8:21, serves as the transition saying which directs the reader's attention towards those Jews for whom the question of Jesus' departure was an important problem (see Jn.7:34-36;8:21-28; and 13:33).<sup>1</sup> Their reply suggests that they are ignorant of attempts by the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem to take Jesus' life (Jn.8:21,22). According to Jn.7 and 8, our Evangelist appears to give significance to the ignorance of these Jews concerning the Jewish authorities' intention to kill Jesus. For example, Jesus speaks of his departure following a new attempt by the Pharisees to arrest him. The Jews, unaware of this plan, think that Jesus is referring to a mission to the Gentiles (Jn.7:32-36).

The Evangelist intends the reader to understand that Jesus was referring to his death as the means of departure back to his heavenly Father. Therefore he makes the sending of the officers to arrest Jesus coincide with Jesus' own statement concerning his departure. The Evangelist wants his reader to see that the Jews misunderstood Jesus' words concerning his departure because they were ignorant of any attempt upon his life. To reinforce the reader's awareness of the Jews' ignorance the Evangelist describes them repeating Jesus' words and puzzling over them (Jn.7:36).

In Jn.8:21,22 we have a repetition of Jesus' words about his departure, and the Jews misunderstood once more. They associated his departure with his death, but they thought that he might take his own life. This reply by the Jews shows that they never associated Jesus' words of departure with an attempt upon his life

by the religious authorities in Jerusalem.

There is, in the Fourth Gospel, the hint of an explanation for this ignorance. In Jn.7:25 the Evangelist contrasts the ignorance of some Jews with the knowledge of the Jerusalemites. They who know that the Jewish authorities seek to kill Jesus, (Jn.7:25,26), but the festival crowd does not know this (Jn.7:20).

The Evangelist appears to draw a distinction between the Jews of Jerusalem, and those Jews who, like the festival crowd, are ignorant of any attempt upon his life.

We saw that in Jn.6, there was a possible identification between the Galilaean crowds; the Jews of the synagogue at Capernaum; and the many disciples. They all wrestled with the question, what does it mean to believe in Jesus? According to Jn.8:21-31 many of the Jews Jesus had been speaking to about his departure "believed on him". The dialogue between Jesus and the Jews continues throughout Jn.8 and the Fourth Evangelist shows that these Jews are not true disciples of Jesus, even though they said they "believed on him".

In Jn.8:31ff Jesus associates these believing Jews with the Jewish authorities who seek to kill him (Jn.5:18). He accuses them twice of seeking to kill him (Jn.8:37,40), and at the end of the dialogue we are told that the Jews "took up stones therefore to cast at him" (Jn.8:59). Jesus denied that they were truly Abraham's children (Jn.8:39). He said that their father was the devil because they, like the devil, were murderers and liars (Jn.8:44,55). According to our Evangelist Jesus denied that these "believing" Jews did in fact believe in him (Jn.8:45,46). The

Jews, for their part, show that they do not truly believe in Jesus because of their increasing hostility towards him.

The Jews answered and said unto him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?...Now we know that thou hast a devil....They took up stones therefore to cast at him.

(Jn.8:48,52,59)

The Fourth Evangelist shows, in Jn.8, that a number of Jews who appear to be among Jesus' disciples prove to be in the same camp as those Jews who are seeking to kill him. The key verse, which shows true and false disciples, is Jn.8:31:

Jesus therefore said to those Jews which had believed him, If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples.

Compare Jesus' words to the many Galilaean disciples in Jn.6:60ff. According to our Evangelist Jesus told them "There are some of you that believe not" and the Evangelist comments,

For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who it was that should betray him.<sup>2</sup>

(Jn.6:64)

The true disciples are those who hear Jesus' words as the word of God, they keep his word and abide in his word (Jn.14:23,24; 15:7,8;17:6-8).

Jesus told the religious leaders who sought to kill him,

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgement, but hath passed out of death into life.

(Jn.5:24)

Similar language is used to show that the Jews in Jn.8 which had believed Jesus, were not truly his disciples. Jesus said to them,



Why do ye not understand my speech? Even because ye cannot hear my word....He that is of God heareth the words of God: for this cause ye hear them not because ye are not of God....Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my word, he shall never see death.

(Jn.8:43,47,51)

When Jesus said that these Jews were not of God, they accused him of being a Samaritan possessed by a demon. When Jesus went on to say that the man who keeps his word "shall never taste of death", the Jews were certain that he was possessed by a demon. They knew that Abraham had died, and here was someone claiming to be greater than Abraham. These Jews thought they knew who Jesus was and they believed on him (Jn.8:30,31). Later they came to realise that Jesus claimed to be something more than they had believed him to be. Their belief in him evaporates as they are forced to ask him again, "Whom makest thou thyself?" (Jn.8:53 see v.25). They are suspicious that Jesus claims too much for himself, making himself equal with God. His reply gave more grounds for their suspicion, and so they tried to stone him because of his blasphemy (Jn.8:59).

According to Jn.5:18 the Jews sought to kill Jesus because he claimed equality with God, referring to God as his Father. According to Jn.10:30-33 the Jews took up stones to throw at Jesus because he said "I and the Father are one". They said they were stoning him "for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God" (Jn.10:33).

According to Jn.8 Jesus' words, which the Jews considered to be blasphemous, express his relation to Abraham (Jn.8:58). On the

one hand they must have thought that in Jn.8:58 Jesus was claiming equality with God, on the other hand they must have thought that in Jn.8:28 he was not claiming equality with God. The Fourth Evangelist shows that these Jews misunderstood this Son of man saying.

How are we to make sense of this dialogue in Jn.8, in which the Jews believe Jesus at one moment and are ready to stone him later, in the same dialogue? We can point out the relevant sayings which evoked such contrasting reactions from the Jews. The words which evoked belief are in Jn.8:28,29. This includes the Son of man saying. Our task is to discern as far as possible the content of the Jews' belief in Jesus in the light of Jn.8:28,29. The words which provoked the most hostility are in Jn.8:58. During the dialogue in Jn.8:31ff these believing Jews become increasingly hostile towards Jesus, but the dialogue shows that they tried to stone him because of Jesus words in Jn.8:58, in particular, after having looked at the possible content of the Jews' belief in Jesus we must turn to an investigation of Jesus' words in Jn.8:58 in order to discern why these Jews found them so blasphemous.

## 2 : WHAT THESE JEWS BELIEVE

In the Synoptic tradition there are sayings which predicted that Jesus would suffer a violent death at the hands of the Jewish authorities (see Mt.16:21(Mk.8:31;Lk.9:22);Mt.17:12(Mk.9:12); Mt.17:22,23(Mk.9:32;Lk.9:44);Mt.20:18;26:2). Jesus makes these predictions to his disciples, but in Lk.13:33 the same prediction is made to Pharisees who came to Jesus to warn him of Herod's intention to kill him (see Lk.13:31-33). It is hardly probable that Jesus predicted his death and the form it should take, but he is more likely to have made such predictions to his disciples, than to his enemies as in Jn.8:28. Even if we accept that Jesus did make such a prediction to his enemies, the Evangelist could not expect his readers to accept that the Jews actually believed Jesus because he told them that they would, in the future, be responsible for his death. I agree with Sir Edwyn Hoskyns solution that their belief

...is rather occasioned by the witness which the Christians bore to the efficacy of the Cross, and the thought here is of those Jews who were converted by the fact of the crucifixion and by its proclamation in the life of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

In the Book of Acts, the proclamation of the gospel to the Jews included the accusation that they were responsible for Jesus' death on the cross.<sup>4</sup> According to Peter's speech in Acts 2, Peter made this accusation twice to his Jewish hearers (Acts 2:23,36).

Later in Acts, Paul made the same accusation when he addressed the Jews of the synagogue in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts



13:26-28). Many Jews reacted positively to these words of Peter and Paul (Acts 2:40,41;13:42,43). There is no need to go into greater detail to show that the content of this preaching had its origin in a sect within Judaism, and that its message to the Jews included the accusation that they were responsible for the death of their Messiah.

According to the Fourth Gospel, there was a popular belief within Judaism identifying the expression "the Son of man" with the Messiah who lives forever. The crowd asked Jesus,

We have heard out of the law that the Christ  
abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The  
Son of man must be lifted up?  
(Jn.12:34)

In the dialogues in Jn.7 the Evangelist repeatedly shows that there was a division of opinion whether Jesus was the Christ or not (Jn.7:26,27,31,40-43). We need not concern ourselves with the historicity of the identification of the Son of man with the Messiah either on the lips of Jesus or in the understanding of the Jews of Jesus day. All we need to know here is that, according to the Fourth Evangelist, the multitude in Jn.12:34 did identify the expression "the Son of man" with the Messiah.

There is another possible piece of evidence which suggests that these Jews in Jn.8:30,31 believed Jesus to be the Christ. This evidence lies within the Son of man saying itself in the use of the phrase *ἐγὼ εἶμι*. It possibly signified to the Jews the presence of the Messiah. For example, the Samaritan woman says,

I know that Messiah cometh: when he is come,  
he will declare unto us all things.  
(Jn.4:25)

Jesus replies "I am (*ἐγώ εἰμι*)", meaning "the Messiah is here". According to Mk.13:6 and Lk.21:8 Jesus said that many false messiahs would come saying "I am", and would lead many people astray. Here again the phrase *ἐγώ εἰμι* represents the presence of the Messiah. We should note that this phrase in particular, on the lips of the false messiahs, is the cause of leading people astray. According to Jn.7:12,47 there are those who accuse Jesus of leading people astray. Perhaps there is some significance in the fact that, as Jesus continues his teaching in the temple, in Jn.8 there are three occasions when he uses the phrase *ἐγώ εἰμι* (Jn.8:24,28;58). On two of these occasions the immediate response, by Jesus' hearers, is appropriate to an acceptance or denial of the messianic presence.<sup>5</sup>

To sum up so far, I have tried to show that in reaction to the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 the Jews believed Jesus to be the Messiah, at least according to the Fourth Evangelist. The Fourth Gospel describes a popular belief that the expression "the Son of man" was appropriate for the Messiah. The Evangelist tells us repeatedly that Jesus' presence in the temple in Jn.7,8, caused a division among his hearers concerning his messiahship. Finally, the phrase *ἐγώ εἰμι*, within the Son of man saying, is appropriate to the suggestion by some that Jesus is a false messiah who leads many astray.

Why did the Jews at this point (Jn.8:30,31) believe ~~on~~ Jesus to be the Messiah? There is sufficient internal evidence in the Fourth Gospel to suggest that our Evangelist implies that belief in Jesus as the Messiah is appropriate to these Jews. However,

this belief must have more substance than merely the acceptance of Jesus' words in Jn.8:28,29. There must also be parts of Jesus' ministry which they believed to be the works of the Messiah. Almost certainly they believed in Jesus because of the signs he performed (see Jn.2:23;7:31); but also because of evidence of a special relation he bore to the Father which issued in total obedience to the Father's will. It is Jesus' relation to the Father that is emphasised in Jn.8:26ff. Jesus said to the Jews,

I have many things to speak and to judge concerning you: howbeit he that sent me is true; and the things which I heard from him, these speak I unto the world.  
(Jn.8:26)

The Evangelist then explains to his readers that the Jews could not understand Jesus' words because

They perceived not that he spake to them of the Father.  
(Jn.8:27)

After the Son of man saying in v.28, Jesus explains his obedience to his heavenly Father.

I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things. And he that sent me is with me; he hath not left me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to him. As he spake these things, many believed on him.  
(Jn.8:28b-30)

In the historical situation of the Johannine community, through Jesus' death on the cross, many Jews believed that his obedience to the will of the Father pointed to his messiahship. This obedience, together with the signs he performed, showed them Jesus had a special relation with the Father worthy of the Messiah. However, on both these issues, concerning Jesus' signs



and his obedience to the Father, the Fourth Gospel shows that the belief of these Jews is inadequate.

The Fourth Evangelist tells us that Jesus did not trust himself to those who believed on his name because of the signs he performed at Jerusalem (Jn.2:23-25). Nicodemus approached Jesus because those signs convinced him that Jesus was a man sent from God. In the course of the dialogue we learnt that Nicodemus did not understand who Jesus really was. In the dialogue in the temple in Jn.7,8, the division among the festival crowd, concerning whether or not Jesus was the Christ, hinged, in large measure, on the signs he performed (Jn.7:31).

We can therefore understand that the faith of the Jews in Jn.8:30,31 was based upon an inadequate belief in Jesus through the signs he performed. With this in mind, we are better prepared for the dialogue which follows in Jn.8:31ff which begins with Jesus expressing his lack of trust in these Jews who say they believe in him (v.31 compare Jn.2:23-25).

Coupled with an inadequate "signs" faith, these Jews also had an inadequate perception of Jesus' relation to the Father. The Evangelist makes this explicit in Jn.8:27 ("They perceived not that he spake to them of the Father"). According to the dialogue in Jn.8:31ff, the hostility between Jesus and the Jews polarises on the issue of fatherhood. The question is whether they have Abraham and God as their father, as they supposed, or whether they have the devil as their father, as Jesus claimed.

The inadequacy of the Jews' perception of Jesus' relation to the Father lies in their understanding of his obedience to the

will of the Father. It is this obedience which is spoken of in Jn.8:28,29. The Son of man is obedient unto death; he does nothing of his own volition but only what the Father taught him, he always does what is pleasing to the Father. What does this obedience to the Father signify in the mind of these Jews? We have noted already that according to Jn.12:34 the crowd linked the expression Son of man with the Messiah. The term "the Son of man" is particularly appropriate in the light of one interpretation of Dan.7:13, and in the light of the gospel tradition, in order to show Jesus' obedience to the will of the Father.

The figure described by the expression *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* in Dan.7:13 ( *וְכַדְמָרְסִי* ), is one who is brought near to the throne of God. Later on in Daniel 7 the author shows that this human figure represents the "people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan.7:27). The "saints" appear to be the righteous remnant within Israel.

We know the circumstances for Daniel's vision of the "one like unto a son of man" who appears after the vision of the four beasts. The little horn of the fourth beast represents Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The "people of the saints" of the period of the Maccabean revolt knew only suffering.<sup>6</sup> Daniel's prayer in Dan.9:4-19 shows that Israel's apostasy is seen to be the root cause of the suffering of the saints. In his prayer Daniel appeals to the mercy of God (Dan.9:9,17,19), but elsewhere the author of Daniel suggests that the suffering of the righteous remnant is efficacious for many within Israel. Here I am following C. K. Barrett's observations on the Hebrew text of Dan.11:35 and 12:3.<sup>7</sup>

Dan. 11:35 begins

וְגֵן - הַגִּשְׁפִּי לִיּוֹם יִכְשְׁלוּ לְצִדְקָהּ בְּהֵם

The R.V. and the R.S.V. follow the Septuagint translation which reads  $\text{בְּהֵם}$  wrongly as a direct object. This gives the meaning that the teachers (singled out in Daniel as among the righteous), cleanse only themselves through suffering martyrdom (see v.33 and the use of the same verb  $\text{יִכְשְׁלוּ}$ ). However,  $\text{בְּהֵם}$  should be translated "among the people" as in the R.S.V. margin.

This translation is supported by the Hebrew text of Dan. 12:3 which identifies the teachers ( $\text{הַמְּשִׁיבִים רַבִּים}$ ) as "they that turn many to righteousness" ( $\text{הַמְּשִׁיבִים רַבִּים}$ ).

Here these leaders in their suffering purify, make righteous, not themselves but others - "many"; that is, the people as a whole, whom they will lead in the resurrection and glory (12:2) as they have led them in suffering.<sup>a</sup>

What is described here is a way of interpreting the expression "son of man" in Daniel as the representative of the righteous remnant within Israel. This is just one of several rivers which has its source in the high mountain range of the apocalyptic book of Daniel. The metaphor I owe to C. K. Barrett.

Here arises the apocalyptic figure of the Son of man, who in later apocalyptic will achieve far more by way of personal distinctness and individuation. Here the notion of apocalyptic suffering attains historical concreteness; that is, a particular period of suffering for certain definite historical persons is integrated into an eschatological world view. Here is the conviction that the people of God will be vindicated, not in terms of historical development but by a divine act at the end of history, involving the



resurrection of the dead, or at least of some of them. Here too is the notion, in embryonic form of vicarious and atoning suffering. These themes are not developed, or wrought into a systematic whole; but they are present, and they arise in the same context.<sup>9</sup>

Several, if not all, of these various ideas occur at different points in the gospel tradition. What is particularly important here is that behind the Son of man passion sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, there is already a hint of vicarious or atoning suffering on the part of one who is obedient to the will of God. What C. K. Barrett suggests for the Synoptic Gospels I am suggesting for the understanding of the Jews in Jn.8:30,31 when they are told of the obedience of the Son of man in Jn.8:28,29. However, this understanding of Jesus as "son of man" is inadequate as far as the Fourth Evangelist is concerned, and the continuation of the dialogue in Jn.8:31ff makes this plain. From the mountain peak of Daniel the Fourth Gospel takes a different river, the individual heavenly Son of man figure of later Jewish apocalyptic. We have looked at this aspect of the Johannine Son of man figure at various stages in each of the Son of man sayings that I have dealt with so far. I am suggesting that those Johannine Son of man sayings which resemble the Synoptic passion sayings reinterpret the concept of a representative Son of man figure in terms of an apocalyptic Son of man figure who is an individual heavenly being.

In addition to the concept of the atoning sacrifice of an earthly messianic figure, the Fourth Evangelist gives us another way of looking at the efficacious work of Jesus' death on the

cross. Through the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the open heaven we have a salvation by revelation similar to the claims of apocalyptic visionaries. According to Jn.3:13,14, the "lifting up" of the Son of man on the cross makes possible the vision of God to the eye of faith and this vision is the assurance of salvation to the believer. In the post-Easter situation there were Jewish Christian communities who only saw Jesus as an earthly messiah, raised from the dead, ~~and~~ who subsequently ascended to the Father. This messianic hope was limited in scope to Israel who had a responsibility to witness to the Gentiles. Descent from Abraham was still of vital importance to disciples of Jesus who framed their hope in this way.

In Jn.8:31ff I think that the Fourth Evangelist has reworked the gospel tradition to show that Jesus, the heavenly Son of man, rejects the belief of these Jewish-Christians. They are in the Johannine community, but they depart from the community because they do not accept the community's claim that Jesus is the Son of man who descends from heaven to reveal God to men. Such a view of Jesus comes from apocalyptic traditions concerning the vision of God, some of which are dangerously close to heretical teaching. To remain within the Johannine community is to run the risk of being banned from the synagogue. This means the Jews must deny any significance in having actually descended from Abraham. The alternative was to return to the synagogue community which the "true disciples" considered to be an act of betrayal.<sup>10</sup>

I have expressed in summary form how I approach an exegesis of the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28. Now I want to turn to the

detailed argument and look more closely at how the Fourth Evangelist reinterprets the Synoptic passion-type Son of man sayings. We have already seen this reinterpretation in my exegesis of Jn.3:14, and we noted that this saying also lay behind the sayings in Jn.8:28;12:23 and 13:31.<sup>11</sup>

Jn.8:28 alludes to the crucifixion more explicitly than Jn.3:14. This saying adds the historical note, at least according to the gospel tradition, that the Jews were responsible for the "lifting up" of the Son of man.

In Jn.12:23, which refers to the glorification of the Son of man, the verse immediately following explains that Jesus is referring to his death.

Jesus answereth them, saying, The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit.

(Jn.12:23,24)

If we look more closely at the contexts of the passages which refer to the glorification of the Son of man, we can highlight two important elements in the Johannine reinterpretation of the Synoptic tradition. Jn.12:23 and its context emphasise salvation by revelation, and Jn.13:31 and its context shows more clearly how the Evangelist inserts the historical situation of the Johannine community into his gospel story. Both elements link Jn.12:23 and 13:31 with Jn.3:14 and 8:28 and we should have these two elements in the foreground of our thinking for our understanding of Jn.8:28.

Jn.13:31 also describes the glorification of the Son of man.



This time the context indicates that this saying is a reinterpretation of the Synoptic passion prediction on the night of Jesus' betrayal.<sup>12</sup> In Jn.13 the Evangelist attaches great importance to Judas' act of betrayal (see Jn.13:2,11,18 and especially vv.21-30). The Evangelist makes a connection between the dramatic event of Judas's exit to betray Jesus, and Jesus' announcement, "Now is the Son of man glorified":

He then having received the sop went out straightway: and it was night. When therefore he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him; and God shall glorify him in himself, and straightway shall he glorify him.

(Jn.13:30-32)

In Jn.12:20 the Greeks briefly come onto the stage of the Fourth Gospel. They went to Philip and asked him: "Sir, we would see Jesus". Philip told Andrew of their request and both went and told Jesus (Jn.12:21,22). The immediate context for the Son of man saying in Jn.12:23 is a request to see Jesus. This saying is an interpretation of the vision of Jesus as the vision of the heavenly glory of the Son of man (Jn.12:23). According to the Fourth Gospel the request by the Greeks to see Jesus came at the time of the passover festival when Jesus entered Jerusalem to attend that festival for the last time. The Evangelist has his own account of the Triumphal Entry which is in all the Gospels, but only our Evangelist crowns this event with an account of some Greeks who wish to see Jesus. This is the final event in Jesus' public ministry and again it explains Jesus' death on the cross as the vision of the Son of man ascending back to heaven (compare

Jn.3:13,14).

The words of Jesus according to Jn.12:32 confirm the link between Jn.3:14 and 12:23. Jesus speaks to the crowds saying,

And I, if I be lifted up from the earth,  
will draw all men unto myself.<sup>13</sup>  
(Jn.12:32)

The response of the crowd in Jn.12:34 completes the picture, indentifying the glorification of the Son of man with the "lifting up" of the Son of man.

The introduction of the Greeks in Jn.12:20 serves the Evangelist's purpose of reinterpreting the Synoptic passion-type Son of man sayings along the lines of Jn.3:14. The glorification, or lifting-up, of the Son of man brings salvation by revelation and not by sacrifice. Throughout Jn.12 there is an emphasis upon this vision. For example, in the account of Jesus' Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem the Evangelist explains that the crowds were there because they either saw, or heard from witnesses, that Jesus had raised Lazarus from the dead. On the significance of this for the saying in Jn.12:23, note that when Jesus first heard of Lazarus's illness he responded with the words,

This sickness is not unto death, but for the  
glory of God, that the Son of God may be  
glorified thereby.  
(Jn.11:4)

This last "sign" like Jesus' first, is described in the Fourth Gospel as a manifestation of his "glory" (see Jn.2:11).

There is a consistent irony in the Johannine understanding of the vision of this  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ . According to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus' effect upon the crowds, who saw his signs, caused the

Jewish rulers to seek to arrest him, and have him put to death.

We saw this in Jn.7,

Of the multitude many believed on him; and they said, When the Christ shall come, will he do more signs than those which this man hath done? The Pharisees heard the multitude murmuring these things concerning him; and the chief priests and the Pharisees sent officers to take him.<sup>14</sup>  
(Jn.7:31,32)

The official ruling by the Jewish authorities in council adds to the seriousness of the threat to Jesus. The signs Jesus performed led inevitably towards the sign of his return to the Father. The manifestations of his glory through his signs led ultimately to the revelation of his glory when lifted up on the cross. Therefore ~~from the mountain peak of Daniel,~~ <sup>the mountain peak of Daniel</sup> the Fourth Evangelist emphasised a different river flowing from ~~that peak~~ <sup>that</sup> to the one ~~found in~~ <sup>Evangelists found there</sup> the Synoptic Gospels. According to our Evangelist the death of Jesus upon the cross is one more medium for the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven, the vision of the Son of man ascending back to his heavenly home (see especially Jn.3:13;6:62). This is not, as in the Synoptic Gospels, the death of an earthly messianic figure whose righteousness and obedience unto death is efficacious for others.

Shortly after the Son of man saying in Jn.12:23 there appears to be a Johannine allusion to the Gethsemane pericope which occurs in each of the Synoptic Gospels (Mt.26:36-46; Mk.14:32-42; Lk.22:40-46 compare Jn.12:27-30). According to the Synoptic accounts, Gethsemane is the hour of Jesus' suffering in which he seeks to avoid taking the cup of suffering. The Fourth Evangelist



dismisses the thought that Jesus should wrestle in prayer concerning the manner and timing of his death. For him, this is not the hour of his suffering but the hour of his glorification;

Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name. There came therefore a voice out of heaven saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.

(Jn.12:27,28)

Through this bath qol the Evangelist shows that the signs of Jesus, and his death on the cross, reveal the glory of the Son of man. We are told in Jn.12:29,30 that the bath qol was not intended to encourage Jesus, but was given for the sake of the crowd.<sup>13</sup> The bath qol says that the Father's name has been glorified through Jesus' signs, and will be glorified again, as the Son of man ascends back to the Father, when he is lifted up on the cross (see Jn.12:32-34).<sup>14</sup>

In the Johannine reinterpretation of the Gethsemane story we have the Johannine "hour" which our Evangelist associates with the "glory" that Jesus manifests through his signs. At the wedding at Cana, when Mary first approached Jesus he said "mine hour is not yet come" (Jn.2:4). After Jesus turned the water into wine the Evangelist comments.

This beginning of his signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested his glory.

(Jn.2:11, see also Jn.12:28)

According to Jn.17 Jesus acknowledges, like the bath qol, that his death on the cross is a revelation of his glory in the same way that his signs were. Jesus said,

I have glorified thee on earth, having accomplished (τελειώσας) the work which thou hast given me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.  
(Jn.17:4,5)

In contrast to the Synoptic Gospels, in the Fourth Gospel the words of Jesus on the cross are "It is accomplished (τετέλεσται)" (Jn.19:30). There is no agony, but the same sense of accomplishment in this revelation of his "glory" as in the signs he performed.

Finally, in Jn.12 our Evangelist reinterprets the testimonium from Isa.6:10 which is also found in the Synoptic Gospels. We have already looked in detail at this testimonium in the Fourth Gospel and at the relation of the Johannine interpretation to the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51;3:13;14;5:27.<sup>17</sup> All we need to note here is that the Fourth Evangelist explains that Isaiah pronounced this word of judgment against the Jews because the prophet had already seen Jesus' glory (Jn.12:41).

### 3 : WHY THESE JEWS BECOME JESUS' ENEMIES

According to Jn.8:58 Abraham also saw Jesus. This brings us back to the Son of man saying given to the Jews in Jn.8:28. We saw that the belief of the Jews in Jn.8:30,31 rested upon a misunderstanding of the Son of man saying. According to our Evangelist, it was possible for some Jews to see Jesus' death on the cross, in relation to the subsequent belief of his disciples in his resurrection, as the death of the Messiah whose righteous obedience atoned not only for his own life, but also for the lives of many within Israel. In contrast the Fourth Evangelist sees the lifting up of the Son of man as a revelation of his glory as he ascends back to his heavenly Father. Jesus is the apocalyptic heavenly Son of man figure who descends to earth to reveal the Father as he had done in the past in the theophanies of the Old Testament. According to the dialogue in Jn.8, Jesus eventually explains to the Jews this meaning of the lifting up of the Son of man. He tells them that Abraham, like Isaiah, had already seen him (Jn.8:56).

When the Jews object to Jesus' claim, referring to his age, Jesus uses the revelatory formula *ἐγὼ εἶμι* which he also used in the Son of man saying (see Jn.8:24,28,58). This time the Jews are left in no doubt that Jesus applies the divine revelatory formula to himself.



The Old Testament passage underlying Jesus' claim is probably Ex.3:14, where God declares himself as 'I am the I-am', translated in the Septuagint as *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*. The Hebrew *אֲנִי הָאֵל* is, however, close to the *אֲנִי הָאֵל*, the divine revelation formula ('I God and no other') which Jesus takes up and refers to himself in the *ἐγώ-εἰμι* in 8:24.<sup>18</sup>

The divine revelatory formula in the form *אֲנִי הָאֵל* occurs twice also in Jacob's vision at Bethel (Gen.28:13,15). In the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 we have an allusion to that vision. The absolute use of the *ἐγώ εἰμι* formula in Jn.8:24,28 and in Jn.8:58 supports the Fourth Evangelist's claim in Jn.1:51 and Jn.12:41. Jesus is the heavenly Son of man who reveals the Father. The Son of man sayings in Jn.3:14;8:28;12:23;13:31 interpret the Synoptic passion-type sayings not <sup>as</sup> sacrifice but as revelation. The dialogue between Jesus and the Jews in Jn.8:31ff shows that these "believing" Jews did not understand the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 in this way. Both the misunderstanding of the Jews, and the Johannine interpretation of the revelation of heavenly Son of man, presume a post-Easter situation.

The context of the final Johannine Son of man saying in Jn.13:31, which involves a reinterpretation of the Synoptic account of the Last Supper, helps us to understand the historical situation. It is one of conflict between the Johannine community and the synagogue worshippers. This is reflected in the dialogue between Jesus and the Jews in Jn.8. This conflict is a consequence of the claims the Johannine community makes about Jesus, because its members believe he is the heavenly messenger who communicates the vision of God to man. There are two

prominent themes in the Johannine account of the Last Supper. Both of them are in the immediate context of the Son of man saying. The two themes are betrayal and brotherly love (see Jn.13:30-35).

On the theme of betrayal, Jn.13:31 states that the departure of Judas from the company of Jesus and his chosen disciples prompted the final Son of man saying.

He then having received the sop went out straightway: and it was night. When therefore he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is the Son of man glorified (*νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*) and God is glorified in him; and God shall glorify him in himself, and straightway shall he glorify him.

(Jn.13:30-32)

The immediacy of the glorification of the Son of man is significant here in a different way from Jn.12:23.<sup>19</sup> The Evangelist describes the event of the evening as the eschatological hour using the language of apocalyptic dualism. He begins,

Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end. And during supper, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him, Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he came forth from God, and goeth unto God, riseth from supper...and began to wash the disciples' feet.

(Jn.13:1-5)

In the context of the Son of man saying, together with the theme of betrayal, we have the theme of love for the brethren. The Evangelist emphasises this theme in the form of a new

commandment given by Jesus to his disciples (Jn.13:34).

The dramatic account of Jesus' washing the disciples' feet, couched in the language of apocalyptic, exemplifies this command to the disciples to love one another.

There are no words for the institution of the Last Supper in Jn.13 such as can be found in the Synoptic Gospels and in Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians.<sup>20</sup> Instead we have a new commandment given by Jesus to his disciples that they are to love one another. This commandment becomes a major theme in the Farewell Discourses and is an explanation of what the disciples must do if they are to "abide" in his word and "keep" his word.<sup>21</sup> The commandment is repeated in Jn.15:12,17, and is also a major theme of the First Letter of John (I Jn.2:7-10;3:11,23).<sup>22</sup>

The reason for the emphasis in I Jn. upon the command to love one another appears to be the same as in Jn.13:30-35, there are those who leave the brethren (see I Jn.2:18,19). The author of I Jn. frequently addresses the brethren in the Johannine community with the expression "little children" ( *τέκνία* ).<sup>23</sup> This expression occurs only once in the Fourth Gospel, in the immediate context of the Son of man saying, where the themes of betrayal and love for the brethren are juxtaposed (Jn.13:33 and see v.31). As in Jn.13:1-4, so also in I Jn.2:18,19, betrayal through desertion signifies the eschatological hour. According to I Jn. those who leave the brethren are antichrists; those who do not love the brethren, children of the devil. They are also called murderers.



In this the children of God are manifest,  
and the children of the devil: whosoever  
doeth not righteousness is not of God,  
neither he that loveth not his brother.  
For this is the message which ye heard  
from the beginning, that we should love one  
another: not as Cain was of the evil one,  
and slew his brother....Whosoever hateth  
his brother is a murderer: and ye know that  
no murderer hath eternal life abiding in  
him.

(I Jn.3:10-12,15)

According to the Fourth Gospel those Jews who believe in Jesus are told by him that their father is the devil (Jn.8.44 see v.31). Jesus also tells them that their father the devil is a murderer and a liar, implying that they too are murderers and liars (Jn.8:44 and v.55). They are like those in I Jn. who depart from the brethren and are children of the devil. They are therefore like Judas in the gospel story who is of the devil (Jn.6:64,70;13:2,30). The warning Jesus gave to his Galilaean disciples is similar to the warning he gave to the Jews who said they believed in him (Jn.6:60-66 and compare Jn.8:31).<sup>24</sup>

Finally, I think that the episode of the washing of the disciples' feet, on the night of the Last Supper, clinches the argument that the historical situation behind the Son of man sayings in Jn.8:28 and 13:31 is that of the Johannine community facing the threat of betrayal by those who leave the brethren. The brief dialogue between Peter and Jesus perhaps emphasises my point best of all. Peter has been baptized as a disciple of Jesus, but he must continue to be present at the worship of the community (represented by the footwashing) if he is to be a true disciple. Therefore Jesus told Peter:

He that is bathed needeth not save to wash  
his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye  
are clean, but not all.<sup>25</sup>  
(Jn.13:10)

The Evangelist warns his readers in the next verse:

For he knew him that should betray him;  
therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.  
(Jn.13:11)

To sum up, the Son of man saying in Jn.13:31, like the saying in Jn.8:28, can be seen from its context to originate from the life of the Johannine community. A comparison between the passages above from Jn.6,8 and 13 shows similarities with the situation described in I Jn. where the commandment to love the brethren must be kept in the face of the threat of betrayal by those who depart from the community. In each of these passages in the Gospel the figure of the Son of man is central to the descriptions of this tense situation. The Gospel shows that the Jewish authorities sought to put Jesus to death because he claimed equality with God. In my exegesis of the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 I suggested that in the historical situation of the Johannine community the Jews persecuted that community's members because they considered their teaching to be heretical and of the "two powers" kind. I now want to show that when the Jews understood the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28, in the light of what Jesus said in Jn.8:58, they realised that Jesus claimed equality with God. Hence the Jews tried to stone him.

In the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 the expressions *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and *ἐγὼ εἰμι* are identified with each other. The whole point of the dialogue in Jn.8:31ff is to show that these

"believers" had failed to understand the significance of this identification. Only when the phrase *ἐγὼ εἰμι* was repeated, this time to suggest a vision of the Son of man to Abraham, did the Jews understand the saying in Jn.8:28 as a claim to equality with God.

I now want to point to some interpretative traditions within Judaism which support my understanding of the Son of man saying in Jn.9:28 and of the dialogue in Jn.8:31ff, that there were Jews within the Johannine community who were believers, but who left the community when threatened by a synagogue ban for belonging to a sect whose teaching was similar to the "two-powers" heretics.<sup>24</sup>

There is a close parallel between Jn.8:24 and Isa.43:10. The Septuagint translation of the verse in Isaiah reads:

*ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ πιστεύσητε καὶ συνῆτε  
ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι.*

Compare Jn.8:24:

*ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσητε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι.*

The *ἐγὼ εἰμι* in the passage from Isaiah is a translation of *אני ה'* meaning "I am he". The *ἐγὼ εἰμι* in Jn.8:24 does not have a complement and therefore makes little sense in Greek unless the phrase here also is referring to the Hebrew *אני ה'*. This is more likely to be the case because of the close parallel between the clauses in Jn.8:24 and Isa.43:10.

There is further support for the claim that Jn.8:24 refers to the revelatory formula *אני ה'* because there are other passages in Second Isaiah, like Isa.43:10, (for example Isa.41:4) in which the expression *אני ה'* occurs,



signifying that Yahweh is eternally present. This fits the intention of the use of the  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  formula in Jn.8:58. The phrase implies that Jesus belongs to the heavenly world where he is eternally present, as the Son of God, with the Father. The context of the formula in Jn.8:24 shows the same intention because Jesus uses the language of apocalyptic dualism to communicate his heavenly origin to the Jews.

And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath;  
I am from above: ye are of this world; I am  
not of this world.

(Jn.8:23, compare Jn.3:13,17,31)

These passages from Second Isaiah do not exhaust the occurrences of the phrase  $\text{אֲנִי יְהוָה}$ . We must also add those passages in Second Isaiah which speak of Yahweh's uniqueness in the same way that Deuteronomy 32:39 does:

See now that I, even I, am he,  
And there is no god with me:<sup>27</sup>

The passages in Second Isaiah which express the same exclusiveness are Isa.45:5,6,18,21,22;46:9 see also Hos.13:14 and Joel 2:27.

The exclusiveness and uniqueness of Yahweh lies behind the phrase "I Yahweh and no other beside me", and is based on the Deuteronomy passage where the  $\text{אֲנִי יְהוָה}$  formula occurs.

Concerning the  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  formula in Jn.8:24,28 R. Schnackenburg writes,

In John Jesus is arguing with the unbelieving Jews, who ought not only to believe for their own salvation, but also ought simply to recognise that Jesus' claim ('I am He') is justified, just as in the Second Isaiah passage God is engaged in a legal dispute with the peoples of the world and is trying

to convince Israel: "I am God, and besides me there is no saviour".<sup>28</sup>

The Fourth Gospel's use of the phrase *ἐγὼ εἰμι* on Jesus' lips does not imply an identification of Jesus with Yahweh. This is clear from Jn.8:28,29 which stresses the Son of man's obedience to the Father whereby he reveals God to men.<sup>29</sup> Similarly the use of the formula again in Jn.13:19, this time to the true disciples, shows that Jesus is the one who reveals God, but he is not identified with God.<sup>30</sup>

The Jews might conclude that Jesus claims to be a second power in heaven.<sup>31</sup> This could be one explanation why the Jews who at first believed Jesus to be an earthly messianic figure, later took up stones to try to kill him. When they heard Jesus applying the divine revelatory formula a second time, they understood that when Jesus spoke to them earlier concerning his departure he meant that he was ascending back to his Father in heaven. We saw that Jesus tried to explain this to Nicodemus in Jn.3:13,14. We saw also that the Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 was part of an argument between Jesus and the Jews similar in content to the rabbinic refutations of the "two powers" heretics. Now there are two more pieces of evidence from the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 which suggest that the Johannine community's emphasis upon the vision of the Son of man engaged them in a conflict with the Jewish authorities because their teaching was like that of the "two powers" heretics.<sup>32</sup>

The first piece of evidence is the similarity between Jn.8:24 and the Septuagint version of Isaiah 43:10 where the phrase

signifies Yahweh's exclusiveness as in Deuteronomy 32:39. Such passages would be very useful proof-texts against the "two powers" heretics. Thus in a passage from Siphre which we looked at earlier, one of the earliest examples of the rabbinic refutation<sup>at</sup> of this heresy, we read:

*See now that I even I, am He (Dt.32:39). This is a response to those who say there is no power in heaven. He who says there are two powers in heaven is answered: "Has it not elsewhere been said: And there is no God with me..." Again, "Thus says YHWH, the king of Israel and his deliverer, YHWH of Hosts. I am the first, I am the last, and besides Me there is no God." (Isa.44:6).<sup>33</sup>*  
(Sifre on Dt.32:39)

In the Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael, another early piece of evidence for the rabbinic refutation of the "two powers" heretics, we again find Deuteronomy 32:39 and the Second Isaiah passages. This time attached to the rabbinic interpretation of the Exodus narratives and of Daniel's throne vision:

*Scripture would not give an opportunity to the nations of the world to say there are two powers but declares I am YHWH your God. (Ex.20:2) I was in Egypt. I was at the Sea. I was in the past, I will be in the future to come. I am in this world, I am in the world to come. As it is said: Behold now, that I, even I, am He, etc (Dt.32:39). Even unto old age I am He (Isa.46:4) Thus says YHWH the king of Israel and his redeemer the Lord of hosts, I am the first and the last, (Is.44:6). And it says Who has wrought and done it? He that called the generations from the beginning. I, the Lord who am the first, and to the end I am He (Isa.41:4).<sup>34</sup>*

(Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exod.20:2)

Here we have the argument concerning conflicting appearance of



Yahweh: as a young man; and as an old man. We also have a brief reference to the Danielic vision. Finally we have the divine revelatory passage of Dt.32:39 together with several similar passages from Second Isaiah which include this formula.

So far I have argued that the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 shows evidence of the historical situation of Johannine community and its involvement in a dispute similar to the arguments surrounding the "two powers" heretics. The *ἐγώ εἰμι* formula in Jn.8:24,28,58 helps to confirm this in the light of the passages from Sifre and the Mekilta. The rabbinic refutations of the heretics make use of the same passages from the Old Testament which are significant in Jesus' confrontation with the Jews in Jn.8.

We can go still further than this in our evidence. The passage from the Mekilta mentions the presence of God in Egypt as well as at the Sea in contrast to God's appearance at Sinai. Earlier in this passage only God's appearance at the Sea was contrasted, but here it is his appearances both at the Sea, and in Egypt. The reference in mind is the night of the passover (Exod.12:12). This may acknowledge that the revelatory formula in Dt.32:39 etc. is connected with the Jewish passover liturgy.

E. Stauffer and D. Daube, in separate studies, have drawn attention to the use of the divine revelatory formula *אני ה' אלהיך* in part of the Passover Haggadah.<sup>35</sup> I am particularly indebted to D. Daube's brief essay for the following observations.

D. Daube argues that the use of *ἐγώ εἰμι* in the New Testament is based on the Rabbinic model as it is preserved in the Passover

Haggadah. This consists of an exposition of some verses from Deuteronomy which refer to Israel's deliverance from Egypt. The words "I am" are used to denote God's personal presence in this deliverance.

However, we have seen in the case of many of the theophanies of the Old Testament that there are conflicting statements as to the presence of an "angel" or "messenger" or God himself in these visions. This is also the case in respect of God's saving acts for the nation Israel. For example, in Nu.20:16 we read,

When we cried unto the LORD, he heard our voice, and he sent an angel, and brought us forth out of Egypt.

In Isa.63:9 it says,

The angel of his presence saved them,

but the Septuagint reads,

Neither a messenger (*πρέσβυς*) nor an angel (*ἄγγελος*) but he himself saved them.

The rabbi in Shemoth Rabba is a non-committal,

Some say he smote the Egyptians through an angel, and some say the Holy one did it himself.

(Shem.R. on Exod.12:23)

In the Passover Haggadah part of the Credo from Deuteronomy states

And the Lord heard our voice,  
and the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt.

The Passover Haggadah then follows with a commentary, using Exodus 12.12, to confirm that God was personally active in the deliverance from Egypt on the Passover night. The comment begins

Not through an angel, and not through a seraph, and not through a messenger, but the Holy one in his glory and himself, as it is written (in Exod.12:12), For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and I will smite all the firstborn, and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgement, I the Lord.

The commentary then takes each clause in turn and stresses, in each case, that God himself is present to carry out the deeds.

The last clause reads,

And I will execute judgement - this means, I and not the messenger; I the Lord - this means, I am and no other.<sup>36</sup>

The last clause "I am and no other" points to Dt.32:39 and to the cluster of passages in Second Isaiah which also have the divine revelatory formula. The meaning here is "God's own person will be present and no other".<sup>37</sup>

Not only is the purpose of the  $\text{אני ה' ואלהיך}$  formula in the Passover Haggadah similar to its use in the rabbinic refutations of the two powers heretics, but also we have evidence that Exod.12:12 was included in the dispute with the heretics.

Therefore the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28 would seem to be well in the orbit of such a dispute. Perhaps the Evangelist knew of the Passover Haggadic tradition concerning the use of the divine revelatory formula.



## CHAPTER SIX

## JOHN 9:35 : THE WORSHIP OF THE SON OF MAN

*Ἦκουσεν Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω  
καὶ εὗρὼν αὐτὸν εἶπεν· σὺ πιστεύεις εἰς τὸν  
υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;*

Jesus heard that they had cast him out;  
and finding him, he said, Dost thou believe  
on the Son of man?<sup>1</sup>

(Jn.9:35)

According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus said these words to  
a man born blind. Jesus gave him his sight, and the man worships  
Jesus because he sees that he is the Son of man:

He answered and said, And who is he, Lord,  
that I may believe on him? Jesus said unto  
him, Thou hast both seen him, and he it is  
that speaketh with thee. And he said, Lord,  
I believe. And he worshipped him.

(Jn.9:36-38)

In this brief dialogue between Jesus and the man born blind,  
the Fourth Evangelist combines the two themes which I have been  
investigating throughout my thesis; firstly, there is the  
revelation that Jesus is the Son of man who is a heavenly being  
worthy to be worshipped; secondly, there is the reinterpretation  
of the gospel tradition in the light of the historical situation  
of the Johannine community. Here in Jn.9 the Evangelist shows how  
the disciple of Jesus is banned from the synagogue worship by the  
Pharisees. The evidence from the rest of the New Testament, and  
from the rabbinic writings, suggests that this form of the  
synagogue ban, and this authority of the Pharisees belong to a  
period subsequent to the time of Jesus' life and ministry.<sup>2</sup>

This Son of man saying is perhaps the most unusual of all the Johannine sayings, and is most unlike any of the Synoptic Son of man sayings. Jesus seeks a confession of faith, from one who is condemned by the Pharisees, that he is the Son of man. The man believes and worships Jesus as the Son of man.

The Fourth Evangelist suggests the motive behind this saying. The Jewish authorities interrogated the man concerning his claim that Jesus had healed him. After this trial the Jewish authorities banned the man from the synagogue. Jesus went to find the man because he had heard that the Jews had banned him from the synagogue and because he wanted to reveal to him that he was the Son of man who should be worshipped. In this way the Evangelist shows that the witness of the believer, in the face of persecution, is vindicated.

At this moment of revelation to the man born blind, the Evangelist tells us that the Pharisees were also present. They do not worship Jesus as the heavenly Son of man. The Son of man condemns them to spiritual blindness. They remain in sin because they deny that Jesus comes from God and does the works of God and because they ban from the synagogue those who do believe in Jesus; thinking they themselves are the true spiritual guides and teachers.

They bring to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind...for the Jews had agreed already, that if any man should confess (Jesus) to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and finding him, he said, Dost thou believe on the Son of man?...And Jesus said, For judgement came I into this

world, that they which see not may see;  
and that they which see may become blind.  
Those of the Pharisees which were with  
him heard these things, and said unto  
him, Are we also blind? Jesus said unto  
them, If ye were blind, ye would have no  
sin: but now ye say, We see: your sin  
remaineth.

(Jn.9:13,22,35,39-41)

What Jesus says here to the Pharisees about blindness and sin, recalls what he said to his disciples before he performed the sign, giving sight to the man born blind.

And as he passed by, he saw a man blind from  
his birth. And his disciples asked him,  
saying, Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his  
parents: that he should be born blind?  
Jesus answered, Neither did this man sin,  
nor his parents: but that the works of God  
should be made manifest in him.

(Jn.9:1-3)

The sign of the healing of the blind man has features in common with similar miracle stories in the Synoptic Gospels,<sup>2</sup> but follows the usual Johannine pattern of development. This sign introduces a series of short dialogues which show that the sign is tied to the questions of who Jesus is and where he comes from. There is, however, a significant contrast in Jn.9 to the development in other Johannine dialogues. In this chapter Jesus has no part in the dialogues subsequent to the sign until the very end of the chapter. Interestingly enough, when Jesus does reappear he gives his judgment on the outcome of the dialogues between the man born blind and the Pharisees, and this judgment brings to the foreground once more the sign that he had performed. Here we can see the special purpose that the Fourth Evangelist has in mind in using this sign. The Evangelist wishes to emphasise



the gulf that exists between the man born blind and the Pharisees: between the believer who worships Jesus as the Son of man, and the Pharisees who come under the judgment of the Son of man. This judgment by Jesus rests upon <sup>an</sup> ~~a very different~~ understanding of the relation between sin and blindness very different from <sup>that of</sup> ~~the~~ Pharisees. According to Jesus, in the case of the man born blind, physical blindness was not the result of sin. The disciples, following popular Jewish belief, thought otherwise, and so did the Pharisees when they said to the man "Thou wast altogether born in sins" (Jn.9:34).

However, according to Jesus there was a relation between sin and spiritual blindness and, according to our Gospel, Jesus had a specific sin in mind: the sin of claiming to see spiritually even to the point of banning from the synagogue those who believed in him. Therefore Jesus said in effect to these Pharisees, "If you were physically blind, you would have no sin: but you say, 'Do you teach us?', so your sin remains" (see Jn.9.41 and v.34).

Elsewhere, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus expresses the same contrast concerning physical and spiritual sight, for example, when speaking to the Jews in Jn.7:24. And again, in Jn.8, when speaking to the Pharisees, Jesus contrasts their judgement with the judgement that is in accordance with his heavenly Father (Jn.8:15,16).

In Jn.9 the Pharisees saw that the man they banned from the synagogue was born blind. They judged him to be a sinner because his blindness was the result of sin. According to the Pharisees this man was like the festival crowd, led astray by Jesus. In

Jn.7:47-49 the Pharisees contrasted themselves to the crowd in terms of their knowledge of the Law of Moses and of their religious purity. Similarly the Pharisees said of the man born blind,

Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost  
thou teach us?  
(Jn.9:34)

According to the Pharisees their knowledge of the Law of Moses distinguished them from those who believe in Jesus. Hence they said to the man born blind, who had called Jesus "a prophet",

Thou art his disciple; but we are disciples  
of Moses.  
(Jn.9:28)

In the dialogue between Jesus and the Jews in Jn.5, according to our Evangelist Jesus acknowledged that his opponents set their hope on their interpretation of the Law of Moses (Jn.5:39,45). The Pharisees call themselves disciples of Moses not only because of their interpretation of the scriptures but also because of their strict observance of the sabbath laws. Jesus broke the sabbath when he healed the lame man and also when he healed the man born blind. The Jews' strict observance of the Law of Moses made it impossible for them to see Jesus' signs as the works of God. According to our Evangelist Jesus explained that their sabbath observances were based on a wrong interpretation of the Law of Moses. This caused them to judge by appearances and not by true judgment.

Jesus said to his opponents,

For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision (not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers); and on the sabbath ye circumcise a man. If a man receiveth circumcision on the sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye wroth with me, because I made a man every whit whole on the sabbath? Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgement.

(Jn.7:22-24)

As I mentioned earlier, this concluding remark by Jesus is similar to Jesus' words in Jn.9:41 where he tells the Pharisees that their sin remains because they claim to be able to see, to interpret the Law of Moses correctly. When, in Jn.9, the neighbours of the man born blind bring him to the Pharisees, the Evangelist tells us that Jesus healed the man on the sabbath. For this reason the Pharisees do not believe that Jesus comes from God, but they know he is a sinner.

They bring to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind. Now it was the sabbath on the day when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes... Some therefore of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, because he keepeth not the sabbath... They called a second time the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner.

(Jn.9:13,14,16,24)

Through their interpretation of the Law of Moses the Pharisees also know that the man born blind is "altogether born in sins" (Jn.9:34); that the "multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed"; and that "out of Galilee ariseth no prophet" (Jn.7:49,52).

In Chapter Two of my thesis, when looking at the role of Nicodemus, the Pharisee and ruler of the Jews, we saw that according to the Fourth Gospel the Galilaeans were considered to



be among the 'am ha 'aretz in the eyes of the Pharisees.<sup>4</sup> In the rabbinic writings the term 'am ha 'aretz is used very frequently to make the contrast to the scholars of the Torah.<sup>5</sup> The teachers in Jn.9 held in contempt the common people.

To sum up, in Jn.9 the Fourth Evangelist faces squarely the charge that the Pharisees make; that disciples of Jesus are Galilaeans who know nothing of the law and are accursed, whereas they themselves are disciples of Moses who have knowledge of the Law of Moses and observe that Law. Our Evangelist retells the gospel story to turn the outlook of these Pharisees on its head. It is not those ignorant of the Law of Moses who are sinners, but those who think they know that Law and yet fail to see the works of God in the signs Jesus performs.

In Jn.9 the Evangelist brings to the surface the sensitive issue of the salvation of the religious and social outcast. The man born blind, like the Samaritan woman, and perhaps also Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, is their representative. In the eyes of the Pharisees Jesus drew most of his disciples from these lower social groups. The question that the disciples put to Jesus at the beginning of this chapter allows the Evangelist to put on the lips of Jesus the radical teaching that salvation is a present possibility for the religious and social outcast. Here the disciples of Jesus express the typical thought of Jewish piety when they ask:

Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents,  
that he should be born blind?  
(Jn.9:2)

The full significance of Jesus' reply can be seen when taken

in conjunction with his remark to the Pharisees at the end of the chapter. To his disciples Jesus said,

Neither did this man sin nor his parents:  
but that the works of God should be made  
manifest in him.  
(Jn.9:3)

To the Pharisees he said,

If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but  
now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth.  
(Jn.9:41)

The Fourth Evangelist suggests that Jesus' disciples come mainly from the ranks of the 'am ha 'aretz. We find evidence of this bias towards the uneducated elsewhere in the Gospel. Nicodemus we are told was a Pharisee and a ruler of the Jews called by Jesus "the teacher of Israel". In contrast, there is the Samaritan woman, whose adultery is exposed by Jesus (Jn.4:18). But this woman and many Samaritans saw Jesus and believed in him, whereas we are not told that Nicodemus believed in Jesus in the same way.

In the summary conclusion of Jesus' public ministry in Jn.12, the Evangelist explains why the Jews did not believe in Jesus. In that summary he singles out those among the Jewish authorities who did believe in Jesus, but because they sought the glory of man more than the glory of God they did not confess their belief. Such a confession of faith would lead to being banned from the synagogue (see Jn.12:42,43). If a Pharisee was banned from the synagogue he would be looked upon by his colleagues as "accursed" like the 'am ha 'aretz. This explains the taunt by Nicodemus's colleagues when they asked him "Art thou also of Galilee?"

According to Jn.9:35ff Jesus reveals himself as the heavenly Son of man to the one whom the Pharisees considered to be an accursed member of the 'am ha 'aretz, who knew nothing of the Law of Moses. This revelation came to him, we are given to understand, because he recognised Jesus' signs as the works of God, showing the glory of God. The Pharisees' condemnation of this man shows their blind refusal to believe the witness of the man to the vision of God in Jesus. Therefore one of the 'am ha 'aretz, a sinner in the eyes of the Pharisees, enters the Johannine community as a disciple of Jesus, and worships him as the heavenly Son of man. According to that community, however, those who do not accept the witness of this worshipping community remain in sin and come under the judgment of the Son of man. Above all, the Fourth Evangelist singles out the Pharisees as those who receive the condemnation of the Son of man because they are the ones who persecute those who bear witness to this vision.

The Pharisees' persecution of the Johannine community was probably more intense because the community's interpretation of scripture challenged the authority that the Pharisees held over the common people. This community claimed that the salvific vision was open to the "many" in Israel, and beyond, and that this revelation gave them the true interpretation of the Law of Moses through direct access to the heavenly world.

Therefore, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus said to the man who worshipped him as Son of man,



For judgement came I into this world, that  
 they which see not may see; and that they  
 which see may become blind.  
 (Jn.9:39)

There is a sense in which a generally accepted view, that a sect under threat of persecution takes comfort in apocalyptic visions, applies to the Johannine community. This community, persecuted by the Pharisees, takes comfort in the knowledge of their salvation through the revelation of the Son of man. They also take comfort in the knowledge that this same Son of man condemns their persecutors in the court of heaven.<sup>6</sup>

This understanding of a judicial blinding of the enemy is not merely the fanciful apocalyptic hope of a threatened community. As I have tried to show in this thesis, underlying the Johannine reinterpretation of the gospel tradition, and underlying in particular the Johannine Son of man sayings, there is a distinctive interpretation of certain scripture passages concerning the vision of God which relates to the later apocalyptic descriptions of the vision of the open heaven and to the rabbinic arguments against the two powers heretics.

Therefore to conclude, I will briefly point out the salient points from each of the Johannine Son of man sayings to show that what I have been arguing in this last chapter underlies all the Johannine Son of man sayings.

In Jn.1:51 Jesus promises the vision of the Son of man through his signs to Nathanael who comes from Cana of Galilee. This vision takes place on earth like the Old Testament theophanies, and the saying alludes to Jacob's vision. Already the reader

senses that a religious stigma attaches to anyone who is a Galilaean. Nicodemus asks "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth", but Jesus himself reassures Nathanael the Galilaean that he is a "true Israelite". Nathanael was a disciple of John the Baptist, and we are told that the Jews sent delegates from Jerusalem in order to ask by what authority he was baptizing people. The Pharisees are singled out as having a special delegation from Jerusalem. The Evangelist shows that John the Baptist's authority derived directly from God, and he was able to identify Jesus as the Son of God because of a special vision he received. The question of authority, raised by the Pharisees, is already being answered: according to the Fourth Evangelist the vision of the open heaven was promised also to those who were not Pharisees and who were not recognised teachers of the Torah.

The Son of man sayings in Jn.3:13,14 shed much more light on this question of authority in relation to the vision of the open heaven. Nicodemus, the Evangelist informs us, is a ruler of the Jews and a Pharisee. Furthermore, Jesus himself refers to him as "the teacher of Israel". But in so doing he only brings doubt upon Nicodemus' authority to teach. Jesus shows that he accepts the authority of John the Baptist but not that of the Pharisees. Thus he tells one of them,

Except a man be born of water and the Spirit,  
he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.  
(Jn.3:5)

The Son of man saying in Jn.3:13 denies Nicodemus the possibility of the knowledge of heavenly things through mystical ascents. The only possible vision open to him is not a private one but one made

possible to all Israel.

As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life.

(Jn.3:14)

This vision is not just for Israel but for the whole world.

The Son of man saying in Jn.12:23 was prompted by the request of certain Greeks to see Jesus, and so Jesus said,

The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified...And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself.

(Jn.12:23,32)

Baptism for Nicodemus demands forsaking the glory of men, for the glory of God. He would have to deny that his authority as the teacher of Israel depended either upon his separateness from the common people or upon his study of Torah. He would then be like the Galilaean Nathanael, or like the Samaritan woman, or the man born blind, and the suspicions of his colleagues would be confirmed (Jn.7:52).

The Son of man saying in Jn.5:27 is a warning to the Jewish authorities who are intent on killing Jesus. They come under the threat of the judgment of the Son of man because they do not see Jesus' signs as the works of God. They are blinded by the fact that Jesus does not observe their sabbath laws. The Jews think that they interpret the Law of Moses correctly, and they see themselves as disciples of Moses. However, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus tells them that they misinterpret the scriptures and fail to see that Moses, like John the Baptist, bears witness to Jesus as the one who is sent from God. He is the



vision of God. Each of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51;3:13,14: and 5:27 alludes to an Old Testament vision text and shows the distinctive Johannine interpretation of this vision.

The Son of man sayings in Jn.6 show how this vision continues in the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. In Jn.6 Jesus is in Galilee where the atmosphere is less tense. Many disciples of Jesus complain, and the Galilaean synagogue worshippers complain concerning the reality of the vision of God in Jesus of Nazareth. The hard saying which causes the complaint is the claim that the believer must eat the flesh and drink the blood of Jesus the heavenly Son of man. The Son of man saying in Jn.6:62 warns those disciples who might be tempted to "walk no more with him" and even betray him (Jn.6:60-62).

In the *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine community the disciples of Jesus worshipped him as the heavenly Son of man, as Jn.9:35 implies. Such worship was considered by the Pharisees as heretical, and members of the sect were banned from the synagogue. There was a danger that backsliders would betray other members of the community to the Pharisees. We saw a hint of this in Jn.6:64ff and in the context of the Son of man saying in Jn.13:31ff. Through the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28, the Evangelist tells us that many Jews believed in Jesus.<sup>7</sup> However, in the subsequent dialogue in Jn.8:31ff we learnt that these believers were the very ones who backslide and who most probably betrayed other disciples of Jesus. Betrayal is also hinted at in Jn.9. The neighbours of the man born blind carried out their own investigations as to who had healed him. When he told them it was

Jesus they betrayed him to the Pharisees (Jn.9:8-13).<sup>6</sup>

It is tempting to see, in the act of washing in the pool of Siloam, the baptizing of a disciple of Jesus. In the interrogations in Jn.9, there is a strong emphasis on the question of how the man received his sight. The man says repeatedly that he went away and washed and came back seeing (Jn.9:11,15 and see v.7). The act of baptism would distinguish the disciple of Jesus from the disciple of Moses, according to the Pharisees. In Jesus' dialogue with the "believing" Jews in Jn.8:31ff these Jews probably hesitated at the need to be baptized, or renounced their baptism because that carried with it the threat of a ban from synagogue worship and took away the significance of their descent from Abraham, understood in its literal sense.

My study of the Son of man sayings in Jn.1:51,3:13,14 and 6:27,53,62 suggests a close association of the vision of the Son of man with baptism in the Johannine community, and with the eucharistic worship of the community. It is therefore not so surprising that the Son of man saying in Jn.9:35 evokes a confession of faith from one who had newly received his sight after washing in a pool and who, having the Son of man revealed to him, worships him.

In my study of the rest of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel we saw that the interpretation of the vision of the Son of man in Jesus causes serious conflict with the Jewish authorities, especially with the Pharisees. According to the Johannine interpretation of Old Testament vision texts, the lifting up of Jesus on the cross represents the ascent back to

heaven of the apocalyptic Son of man figure. This interpretative tradition has several points of contact with the rabbinic argument against the "two powers" heretics. More particularly, this rival interpretation of scripture challenged the authority of Pharisees within Judaism of the late first century C.E. The Fourth Gospel shows that the Pharisees responded to the Johannine teaching by banning from the synagogue worship those who believed in Jesus. However, through the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the Son of man, using the gospel tradition and the apocalyptic vision of the open heaven, the Johannine community had the last word. It claimed that Jesus said,

For judgement came I into this world, that  
 they which see not may see; and that they  
 which see may become blind.

(Jn.9:39)



## FOOTNOTES : INTRODUCTION

1. For a detailed analysis of the Passion narrative in the Gospels see C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 50-151.
2. See R. F. Collins, *Introduction to the New Testament* (1983)
3. Exemplified by the several synopses of the first three gospels. For a useful bibliography of the many works on the Synoptic problem see W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, seventeenth edition (E.T. 1975) pp. 38-42.
4. For evidence of a signs source using this critical method see particularly R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* (1970).
5. Some scholars would point out that close examination shows significant inconsistencies of detail. For example: in Jn.6:1 Jesus is in Galilee, but in Jn.5:1 he is in Jerusalem; in Jn.7:3ff one imagines Jesus has not yet been to Jerusalem, but see Jn.2:23 and 5:1. For a list of these and other apparent inconsistencies see W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, seventeenth edition (E.T. 1975) pp. 204-207. For an attempt to rearrange the Gospel in the light of these inconsistencies see particularly R. Bultmann, *Commentary*.
6. On the question of the genre of the canonical Gospels see C. H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* (1977). He argues that the gospel genre is not unique, <sup>compared</sup> to other contemporary literature, as R. Bultmann would have it. See also E. Auerbach *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (E.T.1953) who argues that the immediacy and direct dialogue which is the result of religious goals, makes these Gospels unique in the literature of antiquity. He uses the account of Peter's denial in Mark's gospel as his paradigm. This immediacy is not so apparent in the longer discourses of the Fourth Gospel. For the acceptance of a literary development from Mark through to the Fourth Gospel see K. L. Schmidt 'Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte' in *Eucharisterion: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, edited by Hans Schmidt, 2 vols. (1923) Vol. II, pp. 60-62. K. L. Schmidt sees this development whilst accepting the uniqueness of the gospel genre. See also the critique of Talbert by D. E. Aune, 'The Genre of the Gospels' in *Gospel Perspectives*, Vol. 2 (1981) pp. 9-60.
7. <sup>The result of</sup> this has been ~~done~~ to give greater prominence to some of the arguments of earlier scholars, for example, Wrede's theory of secret-messiahship, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901, E.T., 1971)
8. W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, Seventeenth edition (E. T. 1975), p. 217.

9. See S. Schulz's attempt to find a new method, in *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957) and see G. Macrae, 'The Fourth Gospel and "Religionsgeschichte"', *CBQ* 32(1970) pp. 13-24.
10. 'Blind Alleys in the Jesus of History Controversy', in *New Testament Questions of Today* (E.T. 1969), p. 49.
11. On the relation of the Son of man/Paraclete within the Johannine Community see J. L. Martyn's thesis, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979); On the relation between the Fourth Gospel and I John see R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, (1979). These works would be a good starting point to test the conclusions of this thesis. They have done the groundwork. What I am seeking to do in this thesis is to explain how the Fourth Gospel developed the way it did within the Johannine community. To do this I examine the thesis of J. L. Martyn in particular in the light of the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptic Gospels and in the light of recent research on apocalyptic Judaism's relation to gnostic and mystical traditions.
12. See the criticism of S. Schulz in *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957). Although his own study falls into the same trap.
13. This silence itself might be telling us something since in the Synoptic Gospels there are Son of man sayings in the Passion narrative.
14. See A. N. Wilder, *Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel*, (1964).
15. *The Divine-Human Encounter* (E.T. 1944), pp. 31, 32.
16. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (1941 E.T. 1971); C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) and *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, (1963). For surveys of the history of criticism on the Gospel see P.-H. Menoud, *L'Évangile de Jean d'après les recherches récentes*, second edition (1947); W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, first edition (1931), revised second edition by C. K. Barrett (1955); E. Malatesta, *St. John's Gospel, 1920-1965* (1967); J. M. Robinson, 'Recent Research in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 78(1959), pp. 242-252; R. Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and his Gospel: An Examination of contemporary Scholarship*, (1975); R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, Vol. 4 (1984), pp. 9-32.
17. On Gnosticism see K. Rudolph, *Gnosis: the Nature and History of an Ancient Religion*, (E.T. 1983). On R. Bultmann's understanding of a pre-Christian Gnosticism see 'Die Bedeutung



der neuerschlossenen des Johannesevangeliums', *ZNW* 24(1925) pp. 100-146. For the argument against, see E. M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* (1973). On the relation between Judaism and Hellenism see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, two volumes, second edition (E.T. 1974). For a brief and incisive criticism of the History of Religions School see also his *The Son of God* (E.T. 1976), pp. 17-51. On the need to demythologise see R. Bultmann 'New Testament and Mythology' in *Kerygma and Myth*, edited by H-W. Bartsch (E.T. 1972) pp. 1-44; and the critique by I. Henderson, *Myth in the New Testament* (1952). On Hellenistic mystery religions see R. Reitzenstein, *The Hellenistic Mystery Religions*, third edition (E.T. 1978); A. D. Nock, 'Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic background', in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, edited by A. E. J. Rawlinson (1928) pp. 51-156. Whilst discussing R. Bultmann and the History of Religions School I use the form "Gnosticism" recognising that this is probably an anachronism and that "gnōsticism" is preferable suggesting the pervasive influence of a kind of thought rather than a clearly defined religion. See particularly the essays in *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966* edited by U. Bianchi (1967).

18. On the way that R. Bultmann is able to use the form critical method to detach tradition from redaction in the Synoptic Gospels see his *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, second edition (E.T. 1968). For a more recent source critical study of the Fourth Gospel see R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* (1970); for an evaluation of source criticism on the Fourth Gospel see B. Lindars, *Behind the Fourth Gospel* (1971) with particular attention to Fortna's study; and D. M. Smith, *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel* (1965) for a criticism of Bultmann's analysis. See also E. Ruckstuhl, 'Johannine Language and Style. The Question of Their Unity', in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge (1977) pp. 125-148; and D. A. Carson, 'Current Source Criticism of the Fourth Gospel: Some Methodological Questions', *JBL* 97(1978) pp. 411-429. For a more cautious use of source criticism in a major commentary see the four volumed commentary by R. Schnackenburg, particularly Vol. 1, pp. 44-58. On the poetic structures within the Fourth Gospel see C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922); M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition (1967) pp. 149-151; X. Léon-Dufour, 'Trois Chiasmes Johanniques', *NTS* 7(1961), pp. 249-255; D. Deeks, 'The Structure of the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 15(1968), pp. 107-129; C. H. Talbert, 'Artistry and Theology: An Analysis of the Architecture of Jn. 1, 19-5, 47', *CBQ* 32(1970), pp. 341-366.
19. On the relation of the Gnostic Redeemer to Johannine Christology see R. Schnackenburg, *Commentary*, Vol. 1, Excursus VI, 'The Gnostic Myth of the Redeemer and Johannine



Christology', pp. 543-557.

20. See R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, pp. 13-83, particularly pp. 20-28. The quotation is from p. 27 and the earlier quotation is from p. 28. Bultmann points to the figure of the "Son of man" in apocalyptic Judaism as an example of the Gnostic myth, p. 27 n.4. On the Prologue in the Fourth Gospel see Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, edited by F. N. Davey, Vol. 1, first edition (1940), pp. 129-164; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 263-285; E. Käsemann, 'The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel' in *New Testament Questions of Today*, (E.T. 1969), pp. 138-167; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man*, (1973), pp. 197-215; P. Borgen, 'Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John', *NTS* 16(1969-70), pp. 288-95 and 'Logos was the True Light', *Nov. T.* 14(1972), pp. 115-30; C. K. Barrett, 'The Prologue of St. John's Gospel' in *New Testament Essays*, 1972, pp. 27-48; W. Schmithals, 'Der Prolog des Johannesevangeliums', *ZNW* 70(1979), pp. 16-43; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (1980), pp. 213-250.
  
21. *Jesus and the Word*, (E.T. New Edition, 1958) p. 12. In addition to this book on the question of the historical Jesus see also A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, third edition (E.T. 1954); T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies in its Form and Content*, 2nd edition (1935); J. M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1959); G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (E.T. 1960); E. Käsemann, 'The Problem of the Historical Jesus' in *Essays on New Testament Themes* (E.T. 1964), pp. 15-47; 'Blind Alleys in the "Jesus of History" Controversy' in *New Testament Questions of Today* (1969), pp. 23-65; N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967); O. Betz, *What do we know about Jesus?* (E.T. 1968), H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (E.T. 1969), pp. 29-152; and J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (E.T. 1971), pp. 1-37.
  
22. *Commentary*, p. 454
  
23. On the dualism of the Fourth Gospel see J. H. Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in IQS 3:13-4:26 and the "Dualism" Contained in the Gospel of John' in *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1972), pp. 76-106; J. Becker, 'Beobachtungen zum Dualismus im Johannesevangelium', *ZNW* 65(1974), pp. 71-87.
  
24. For the evidence of an oral tradition behind the Fourth Gospel see B. Noack, *Zur johanneischen Tradition: Beiträge zur Kritik an der literarkritischen Analyse des vierten Evangeliums* (1954), along with C. H. Dodd's, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963). Compare the Scandinavian School's criticism of the form-critical method

by claiming that an oral tradition of the Gospels was communicated in a way similar to rabbinic tradition. See for example, B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (1961). For a critique of the Scandinavian approach see W. D. Davies, 'Reflections on a Scandinavian Approach to "The Gospel Tradition"' Appendix XV in *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (1966) pp. 464-480. For a useful bibliography on the question of sources in the Fourth Gospel in the light of the Fourth Gospel's relation to the Synoptic Gospels see J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979), pp. 166-168.

25. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), p. 446. The word in italics is Dodd's.
26. See *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 429, 430.
27. See for example, the commentaries by R. E. Brown; R. Schnackenburg; B. Lindars and J. L. Martyn's *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979). For a convenient summary of the "new look" see J. A. T. Robinson, 'The New Look on the Fourth Gospel' in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (1962) pp. 94-106, also his *Redating the New Testament* (1976) pp. 254-311; S. S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter* (1978) pp. 9-40. C. H. Dodd expressed his indebtedness in his second volume to a much smaller work by P. Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (1938) which Dodd described as a "turn of the tide" in the study of the Fourth Gospel, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) p. 8. The "new look" rests its case mainly on the Fourth Gospel's unity; its independence from the Synoptic Gospels; its background within Palestinian Judaism; its reliable topographical details; and its claim to an apostolic witness. On the reliability of the topographical details see W. F. Albright, 'Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John' in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (1956) pp. 153-171; J. Jeremias, *The Rediscovery of Bethesda* (1966). For a cautionary note see W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land* (1974) pp. 298-335. For those scholars who stand apart from the "new look" and hold to some form of literary relation between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel see C. K. Barrett, 'John and the Synoptic Gospels', *Exp.T.* 85(1973-74) pp. 228-233, also the revised edition of his commentary, pp. 42-54. He maintains that the Fourth Evangelist at least knew Mark. See also J. A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John* (1963); N. Perrin, *The New Testament: An Introduction* (1974); W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, seventeenth edition (E.T. 1975), (for a list of scholars who deny literary dependence see p. 202 n.21); F. Neirynck, 'John and the Synoptics' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge (1977) pp. 73-106; M. Sabbe,



'The Arrest of Jesus in Jn.18:1-11 and its Relation to the Synoptic Gospels' also in *L'Évangile de Jean*, pp. 203-234. For a recent assessment of the issue see D. M. Smith, 'John and the Synoptics: Some Dimensions of the Problem', *NTS* 26(1980), pp. 425-444.

28. See R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, Volume 2, (E.T. 1952); C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953); R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (1965); H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (E.T. 1969); W. G. Kümmel, *Theology of the New Testament*; British edition (E.T. 1974). See particularly S. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957). He tried to identify sources in the Fourth Gospel by his method of a history of themes. He analyses four themes which he claims have their origin in apocalyptic Judaism and then shows how motifs are added which show the development of the Johannine reinterpretation in the light of hellenistic gnosticism. R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man* (1973), pp. 197-242; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (1980), particularly pp. 213-250. Dunn argues that there is an evolutionary process at work in which Paul provides a key move towards conceptualising the unthinkable, "If we were to focus attention on any particular point within this evolutionary process as more crucial than others, it would probably be Paul's use of Wisdom language to assess Christ....Here we see conceptualization approaching the transition point, the thought almost unthinkable that John subsequently expressed so clearly", p. 261. C. H. Dodd in *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) also admitted the possibility of an evolutionary process between Paul and the Fourth Evangelist when he wrote "Paul no doubt cleared up the Judaistic question, and asserted the ecclesiastical, spiritual, and intellectual independence of gentile Christianity once for all. He also set an example of using current modes of thought to illuminate the Christian Gospel. In this sense he may have prepared the way for Johannine Christianity", p. 5.
29. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), p. 444.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-114 earlier quotation on pp. 101-102.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 130
32. *Ibid.*, p. 248, for the interpretation of Jn.1:51 see pp. 245, 246.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 279 and for quotation.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 249.



35. Ibid., p. 7. On Dodd's tentative use of the word mysticism see pp. 7 and 197-200.
36. See pages 13, 14 and pages 17, 18
37. On the relation between Judaism and Hellenism see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, two volumes, second edition (1974), particularly Vol. 1, pp. 175-218. Also W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, third edition (1970), see his criticism of C. G. Montefiore's division of Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism in his introduction, pp. 1-16. On the relation between Apocalypticism and Pharisaism see W. D. Davies, 'Apocalyptic and Pharisaism' in *Christian Origins and Judaism* (1962), pp. 19-30 and C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism* (E.T. 1975), pp. 40-58.
38. See R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem* (1958); and the essays in honour of R. McL. Wilson in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, edited by A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn (1983), particularly the essay by G. Quispel, 'Judaism, Judaic Christianity and Gnosis', pp. 46-68. See the essays in *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo; Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, edited by U. Bianchi (1967) particularly those by C. Colpe, 'Die "Himmelsreise der Seele ausserhalb und innerhalb der Gnosis"', pp. 429-447; R. McL. Wilson, 'Gnosis, Gnosticism, and the New Testament', pp. 511-527. See particularly I. Gruenwald, 'Knowledge and Vision: Towards a clarification of two "gnostic" concepts in the light of their alleged origins', *IOS* 3(1973), pp. 63-107. Although not primarily concerned with the New Testament, see the independent pioneering work in this field by G. Scholem, in this context particularly his book *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (1965).  
In relation to the above discussion, note the widespread discussion now on: What is Apocalyptic Judaism? See for example M. Rist, art. 'Apocalypticism' in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1 (1962), pp. 157-161; P. Vielhauer, Introduction to 'Apocalypses and Related Subjects' in *New Testament Apocarypha*, Vol. 2 edited by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (E.T. 1965), pp. 581-642; W. A. Beardslee, 'New Testament Apocalyptic in Recent Interpretation', *Interpretation* 25(1971), pp. 419-435; W. G. Rollins, 'The New Testament and Apocalyptic', *NTS* 17(1970-71), pp. 454-476; K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (E.T. 1972); and C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (1982), particularly pp. 1-72.
39. See the pioneering work in the exploration of the tensions in the Johannine community in the redaction-critical study by J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition, (1979). However, J. L. Martyn does not explain how the Johannine community arrived at the Christological point it held, which was the cause of these tensions. My thesis

addresses this question in an attempt to supplement and confirm Martyn's general thesis.

*tenth edition of the*

40. From R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, p. 150 n.1. In the ~~German tenth~~ *Meyer Commentary*, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, (Göttingen, 1941) p. 107 n.5. See also H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel* (1929) pp. 94ff.
41. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) pp. 324, 325, particularly n.2. C. H. Dodd agrees with G. F. Moore here, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim*, Vol. 1 (1927), pp. 364-367. Dodd connects the argument of the rabbis against the "two powers" heretics with his understanding that the functions of *ἡγεμονίας* and *κρίσεως* in Jn.5 represent the Philonic concept of the two powers of God described as creative goodness and kingly authority, see pp. 322, 323.
42. Note the early work by H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel* (1929) dealing with various passages in the first twelve chapters of the Gospel in which he lists the parallels from contemporary religious writings including parallels from Jewish mysticism. More recently on the significance of Jewish mysticism for individual passages in the Gospel see G. Quispel, 'Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh 1,51)', *ZNW* 47 (1956), pp. 281-283; N. A. Dahl, 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962); P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (1965) and 'Some Jewish Exegetical Traditions as Background for Son of Man sayings in John's Gospel (Jn.3:13-14 and context) in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge (1977), pp. 243-258; W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and Johannine Christology* (1967), and 'Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL* 91(1972), pp. 44-72; D. E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realised Eschatology in Early Christianity* (1972); J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4 Evangelium* (1977); S. Trowbridge, 'John 1:51. An Examination of the Background of a Johannine Saying and of its Purpose in the Gospel' (unpublished M.Litt.dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981); and R. W. Paschal Jr., 'The Farewell Prayer of Jesus: a Study of the Gattung and the Religious Background of John 17' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1982-83); and see forthcoming article by C. C. Rowland in *NTS*. For the suggestion that certain passages in the Fourth Gospel reflect the background of the "two powers" heretics see A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977).
43. *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957)
44. See E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* (E.T. 1968) and S. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im*



*Johannesevangelium* (1957). His basic source for the Son of man tradition is the Similitudes of Enoch.

45. W.Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (1967), pp. 286-319.
46. J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und Sein Weg im 4 Evangelium* (1977)
47. See pages 56-59 where I argue against B. Lindars in his recent study on the Son of man which also sees the centrality of the cross in Johannine Christology.
48. "There appears to be little necessity to look beyond early Christian traditions to find a source for the Johannine Son of Man", p. 216. F. J. Moloney has carried out an exegetical study of the Johannine Son of man sayings. He argues at the beginning for the need to study the sayings within the larger context of the Gospel. There are useful summaries of what other scholars have said concerning the individual sayings. However, he has not moved the discussion forward at all in his conclusion that we need look no further than the Synoptic Gospels for the source behind the Johannine Son of man sayings. In contrast, J. A. Bühner's study, whilst not wholly given to the Son of man sayings in the Gospel, does enlighten us concerning the Johannine Son of man figure. However, I cannot accept his understanding that Jesus' pre-existence, according to the Fourth Gospel, depended on a previous ascent into heaven. See J. D. G. Dunn's criticism in *Christology in the Making* (1980), p. 319n.67. The key passage is in Jn.3:13: the order of the verbs for the movement of the Son of man is ascended-descended; and the verb "to ascend" is in the perfect tense in the Greek, whereas the verb "to descend" is in the aorist. J. A. Bühner appears to have a good case. However, the saying is in the form of a refutation. Jesus refutes the claims made by others, on behalf of themselves or their heroes, that any man has ascended into heaven. Therefore, the verb "to ascend" comes first as the subject of attention. The use of the perfect followed immediately by an aorist is not uncommon in the Fourth Gospel: see M. S. Enslin, 'The Perfect Tense in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 55(1959) pp. 121-131. There may not be any significance attached. On the other hand, it is possible that in Jn.3:13 it has the sense of something done in the past which has continuing effect in the present: see J. H. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, first edition (1906), pp. 143, 144. In this case, the Fourth Evangelist might intend Jesus to be saying that he alone moves to and from heaven because he is the angelic messenger of God who constantly left the presence of God in the past to reveal himself to Moses and the prophets, etc. and therefore constantly made the return journey. Jn.3:13,14 signifies that his coming in the flesh this time will not prevent his ascent back to heaven again.
49. See pages 15-17 and 21-24



50. Compare J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979), pp. 129-151.  
I therefore think that R. Bultmann; E. Käsemann and S. Schulz are nearer the mark in their understanding of the apocalyptic Son of man figure in the Fourth Gospel. But the concept of the descending-ascending redeemer myth need not be so narrowly construed as borrowed from a clearly definable and separable religious tradition called Gnosticism. See now for example, C. H. Talbert, 'The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity', *NTS* 22(1976), pp. 418-440; and J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und Sein Weg im 4 Evangelium* (1977), particularly pp. 335-341; and compare J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (1980), pp. 129-162.
51. See C. K. Barrett, *Commentary*, second edition, p. 31. Also C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (1982), pp. 23-48.
52. Note K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew* (1954). On the Fourth Gospel see R. A. Culpepper, *The Johannine School: An Evaluation of the Johannine School of Hypothesis Based on an Investigation of the Nature of Ancient Schools* (1975); O. Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle* (1976); J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979); R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (1979); W. A. Meeks, 'The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL* 91(1972), pp. 44-72; N. A. Dahl, 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962), pp. 124-142; E. S. Fiorenza, 'The Quest for the Johannine School: the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 23(1977), pp. 402-427.
53. Compare M. de Jonge, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven* (1980).
54. On the relation of the Paraclete to this witness within the Johannine community see S. Schulz, *Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957); D. E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realised Eschatology in Early Christianity* (1972); R. E. Brown, 'The Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 13(1967), pp. 113-32; G. Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John* (1970); A. R. C. Leaney, 'The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls' in *John and Qumran* edited by J. H. Charlesworth, (1972) pp. 38-61.
55. For the understanding that the authority of the rabbis rested upon esoteric doctrine related to the study of mystical texts in scripture see J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, third edition, (E.T. 1966), pp. 125-132 and *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (E.T. 1969), pp. 237-241; P. S. Alexander in his introduction to the translation of 3 Enoch in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. I edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1983), p. 239. This idea was also confirmed to me in

- conversation with I. Gruenwald recently. See also C. K. Barrett's essay, 'Gnosis and the Apocalypse of John' in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, edited by A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn (1983) pp. 125-137, particularly p. 133.
56. R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (1979), pp. 36-40. See also W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (1967) and O. Cullman, *The Johannine Circle* (1976)
57. See *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (1979), pp. 55, 56. The quotation is from his essay, 'Johannine Ecclesiology - The Community's Origin', *Interpretation* 31(1977), pp. 379-393, quotation on p. 392.
58. See E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus*, (E.T. 1968).
59. For the influence of Dan. 7:13 on the New Testament see C. Colpe art. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*", *TDNT*, Vol. 8, pp. 400-477 and P. M. Casey *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (1979)
60. 'The use of  $\Psi\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}/\text{N}\Psi\text{I}\text{I}$  in Jewish Aramaic', Appendix E in M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition (1967), pp. 310-328. Summarized in G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (1973), pp. 162-177.
61. *Jesus the Jew* (1973) p. 170.
62. N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967), pp. 164-178 and see G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, pp. 177-186.
63. Contrast R. Leivestad, 'Exit the Apoclyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 18(1971-72), pp. 243-267.
64. *Jesus the Jew* (1973), p. 183.
65. *Son of Man: the Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (1979), pp. 154, 201. P. M. Casey sees this development in the Gospels as post-Pauline.
66. For the dating of the Similitudes see J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (1980), pp. 65-97; M. A. Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch: a Critical Review', *NTS* 25(1978-79) pp. 345-359. He suggests late first century C.E. Compare J. C. Hindley, 'Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: an Historical Approach', *NTS* 14(1967-68) pp. 551-565 who suggests a date around 120 C.E. and contrast J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (1976), pp. 91-96 who gives a much later date, around 270 C.E. and argues that the Similitudes are a Christianizing of the Sibylline Oracles. Also E. Isaac, "I am convinced that I Enoch already contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century A.D." in *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1972) p. 7. There is almost no dispute concerning the date of



4 Ezra towards the end of the first century C.E. There are cryptic references to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (see 4 Ezra 3:1, 2 and 6:19;10:48). See the introduction to the translation of 4 Ezra by B. M. Metzger in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1983), pp. 517-524.

67. See M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (1967) pp. 11-74. She argues that the suffering Son of man sayings are directly dependent on the interpretation in Dan.7 itself. See also C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament* (1967), pp. 82-99 and *The Origin of Christology* (1977); C. K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* (1967), pp. 39-45 where he says "The themes of apocalyptic suffering..., of a divine vindication, manifestly supernatural in origin since its primary scene is with the clouds of heaven, of a Son of man figure, and of atonement, have common roots", p. 45. On p. 39 C. K. Barrett also agrees with M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant* (1959) that the sufferings of the Son of man are not the same as the sufferings of the Servant in Isaiah. F. H. Borsch in *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (1967) also argues that there are authentic sayings in all three categories. His approach is very different. Arguing beyond the Judeo-Christian tradition from oriental mythology he traces the concepts of suffering and vindication through this complex of ideas and also in the myths surrounding the primal Man. He links this wider gnostic myth and Jewish messianic concepts with Adam as the first royal man. For this see A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (E.T. 1955). Finally, see also the works of V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus* (1953), pp. 25-35; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, second edition (E.T. 1963), pp. 137-192 and R. Maddox, 'The Function of the Son of Man according to the Synoptic Gospels' *NTS* 15(1968-69), pp. 45-74.
68. See H. M. Teeple, 'The Origin of the Son of Man Christology', *JBL* 84(1955), pp. 216-223; P. Vielhauer, see his Introduction to the Apocalypses in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 2, edited by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (E.T. 1965), pp. 581-642; particularly pp. 608-612; N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) pp. 164-199, also *A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology* (1974) pp. 23-30; and H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (1969), pp. 131-137. From a different perspective the arguments of G. Vermes and R. Leivestad should also be included here, together with J. C. O'Neill, 'The Silence of Jesus', *NTS* 15(1968-69), pp. 153-167.
69. *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967), pp. 164-75.
70. H. E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (E.T. 1965), p. 295; see also G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (E.T. 1960), pp. 229-231, who writes, "I consider it probable that



the historical Jesus never used the title "Son of man" for himself. The answer to our question as to why we meet this title so frequently in Jesus' references to himself can only be that this title above all others is, for the oldest Palestinian Church, to which we owe the transmission of the words of the Lord, an expression of the essence of their faith, and was to be invested with the authority of Jesus himself", p. 231. Similar views are held by R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (1965), pp. 119-125; F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology* (E.T. 1969); C. Colpe art. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* TDNT, Vol. 8; pp. 400-477; and A. J. B. Higgins, *The Son of Man in the Teaching of Jesus* (1980), pp. 55-126. See pp. 29-53 for a useful summary of some of the major arguments on the Son of man problem since his earlier book on the subject, *Jesus and the Son of Man* (1964). The traditio-historical analysis of J. Jeremias calls for special mention here because he argues that only the eschatological Son of man sayings are the authentic words of Jesus. Other sayings have rival parallels in the Synoptics where the term Son of man is omitted. This view is hinted at in the arguments of A. J. B. Higgins and C. Colpe who both recognise a close relation in Jesus' teaching and ministry to the figure of the Son of man, a relation that goes much further than a dispensation of authority from God which H. E. Tödt and G. Bornkamm suggest.

71. G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (E.T. 1960) p. 232
72. For a review of the research on the Christology of the Fourth Gospel see R. Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel* (1975), pp. 178-206; and see particularly C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), pp. 228-285; S. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (1957); E. M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel, in the light of first century thought* (1961); W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (1967); E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* (E.T. 1968); B. Lindars, 'The Son of man in Johannine Christology' in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, edited by B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley (1973), pp. 43-60, and see now his, *Jesus Son of Man* (1983), pp. 145-157; R. Schnackenburg, 'The "Son of Man" in the Fourth Gospel', Excursus V in his *Commentary*, Vol. 1 (E.T. 1968), pp. 529-542; F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978); J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg* (1977); J. P. Miranda, *Die Sendung Jesus im vierten Evangelium* (1977); M. de Jonge, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven* (1980).
73. See B. Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man* (1983) p. 145. Also F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978) and S. S. Smalley, 'The Johannine Son of Man Sayings', *NTS* 15(1968-69), pp. 278-299 and *John: Evangelist and Interpreter* (1978).
74. *Jesus Son of Man* (1983) p. 155. For a similar view of Son of

Man as the revealer see F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978); J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg* (1977); M. de Jonge, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven* (1980). Compare the Gnostic Revealer myth applied to the Johannine Son of man by R. Bultmann in his *Commentary*.

75. *Jesus Son of Man* (1983), p. 156. For the cross as the supreme moment of revelation see also J. T. Forestell, *The Word of the Cross* (1974); F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978), pp. 213-220; and the commentaries by R. Schnackenburg and R. E. Brown. For the emphasis upon the functional roles of the Son of Man in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel see the two essays by R. Maddox, 'The Function of the Son of Man according to the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 15 (1968-69), pp. 45-74 and 'The Function of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John' in *Reconciliation and Hope* edited by R. Banks (1974), pp. 186-204. In contrast to Lindars' view that none of the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel, but Jn.3:14, have parallels in the Synoptics, see S. S. Smalley, who finds parallels to all the sayings except Jn.9:35. 'The Johannine Son of Man Sayings', *NTS* 15(1968-69), pp. 278-299; and contrast J. Jeremias who thinks only Jn.1:51 resembles a Synoptic saying, *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (E.T. 1971), p. 263
76. *Der Gesandte und sein Weg* (1977) pp. 341ff. For the prophetic agency alone see P. Miranda, *Die Sendung Jesus im vierten Evangelium* (1977). For the angelic emissary linked with the Jewish speculation surrounding the throne visions see M. Hengel, *Son of God* (E.T. 1976); M. Black, 'The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the Son of Man: a Study in Tradition-History' in *Jews, Greeks and Christians*, edited by R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (1976), pp. 57-73. Bühner recognises that the concept of the Halakhic agent was applied to the angelic messenger in mystical traditions within Judaism. See also P. Borgen, 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel' in *Religions in Antiquity* edited by J. Neusner (1968), pp. 137-148.
77. 'The Background of the Term "Son of Man"', *Exp T.* 59(1948), p. 285.
78. For the identification of the figures in Ezek.1, 8 and Dan. 7, 10 see A. Feuillet, 'Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique', *RB* 60(1953) pp. 183ff; and S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (1981), pp. 239-252.
79. See M. Black, above note 76. For the significance of the throne visions in Ezek 1 Isa.6 and Dan.7 in the throne visions of later apocalyptic and mystic traditions within Judaism see G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (1955).



80. See A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977)
81. See those scholars in note 42 above.
82. "Le Fils de l'homme", p. 189, note 78 above; cited by M. Black, 'Throne-theophany', p. 61, note 76 above.
83. This has been suggested by G. Quispel; N. A. Dahl; W. Meeks; P. Borgen and C. C. Rowland. See note 42 above.
84. M. Casey, *Son of Man* (1979), p. 212. On the earliest Christological hymns in the New Testament see C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, second edition (1966); R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (1965), pp. 204-227.
85. See J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979), pp. 102-151
86. Perhaps more precisely we should say that the testimonium was interpreted in a way that would justify a particular interpretation of parables by a Christian community (see Mk.4:10-12).
87. See particularly N. A. Dahl, above note 42.
88. See C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (1982).
89. See N. A. Dahl and G. Quispel, above note 42.
90. On the use of the Old Testament in the Fourth gospel see E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John* (1965); G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (1974); On the significance of the Testimonium of Isaiah 6:10 see particularly B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (1961); R. Schnackenburg, 'Joh 12:39-41 Zur christologischen Schriftauslegung des vierten Evangelisten', in his *Commentary*, vol. 4, pp. 143-152 also C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922)
91. Compare W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (1967); J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979); R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (1979); and S. Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel* (1975)
92. See pages 110-113.
93. However, I do not think that what we have in the Fourth Gospel is an angel-Christology.
94. See for example note 42 above.



95. See for example the parallels in the Son of man imagery in I Enoch 14 and Dan.7 listed by T. F. Glasson:

Dan 7:9                throne...and the wheels thereof  
I Enoch 14:18 throne...and the wheels thereof

Dan 7:10             fiery stream...ten thousand times ten thousand  
                     stood before him.  
I Enoch 14:19 streams of flaming fire...(22) ten thousand  
                     times ten thousand before him.

Dan.7:9              His raiment was white as snow  
I Enoch 14:20 His raiment...whiter than any snow

Dan.7:13             I saw in the night *visions*, and, *behold*, there  
                     came with the *clouds* of heaven one like unto a  
                     son of man.  
I Enoch 14:8 *Behold*, in the *vision clouds* invited me

See T. F. Glasson, 'The Son of Man Imagery: Enoch XIV and Daniel VII', *NTS* 23(1976), pp. 82-90.

96. See C. K. Barrett, 'Gnosis and the Apocalypse' in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, edited by A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn (1983) pp. 125-137 particularly pp. 133, 134; C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (1982) and S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (1981)
97. Note that Jn.1:51 possibly includes a reinterpretation of the Synoptic gospels' account of Jesus' baptism which describes a vision of the open heaven to Jesus himself. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is the vision, not the visionary.
98. The dialogue in Jn.3 shows the significance of baptism (Jn.3:3,5). Jn.1 does not refer to a Baptist polemic, but in relation to Jn.3 shows how significant the practice of baptism was in the dispute between the Johannine community and the Jewish authorities.
99. *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (1979)
100. *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977).
101. On the date of the "two powers" heretics see A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, (1977)
102. See particularly the study by W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (1966), particularly pp. 102-190. W. D. Davies explains the significance of the Torah for the Messianic age in rabbinic and sectarian thinking and concludes that Matthew's interpretation of Jesus as the Messiah verges between the two. Concerning Jn.6 Davies adds

a footnote, "Jesus in John vi is New Moses and infinitely more", p. 190n.2 continued from p. 189. On the discourse in Jn.6 see particularly, P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (1965). He looks at the homiletic traditions in Philo and in the Targums to show how Jn.6 interprets Jesus as the vision of God. See particularly pp. 147-192. Concerning the belief in Israel as the nation who sees God, Borgen adds that this development "in Philo and John gives basis for the theory that both are partly side-branches of early Merkabah mysticism." p. 147.

103. My understanding of Jn.6:51b-58 is the same as P. Borgen's. The eucharist confirms that "the Word became flesh". It therefore continues the witness of Moses and the prophets that Jesus the son of Joseph (Jn.6:42) is the vision of God to man (Jn.6:40). See also N. A. Dahl, 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962) pp. 124-142. Contrast R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, pp. 219 and 234-237; and G. Bornkamm, *Die eucharistische Rede im Johannesevangelium*, ZNW 47(1956), pp. 161-169. They consider this eucharistic passage to be an interpolation describing a sacramental materialism contrary to the Johannine thought of Jesus as the Revealer.



## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 1

1. All quotations from the English Bible are from the Revised Version unless otherwise stated.
2. The phrase in Jn.1:27 also occurs in Mt.3:11. C.H.Dodd writes: "Apparently *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is here treated, in both gospels, as a fixed title, indentifying the person spoken of." *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) p. 267. R. Schnackenburg does not list this phrase among the titles of Jesus in Jn.1 but sees it as having an important messianic function, see R. Schnackenburg 'The Titles of Jesus in John 1' in *The Gospel according to St. John*, Vol. 1, Excursus III, (E.T.1968) pp. 507-514. R. Schnackenburg understands these titles to be the results of theological reflection in an attempt to express faith in Jesus. However, I think the most astute comment comes from H. Frhr. von Campenhausen: "Diese Fülle der >>Namen<< ist zweifellos beabsichtigt. Jesus selbst in seiner Einzigkeit ist der alleinige Inhalt des Evangeliums. Jeder mögliche Titel hat nur Hinweischarakter, und keiner kann Jesus ganz so umschreiben, wie er in Wahrheit ist" in 'Das Bekenntnis in Urchristentum', ZNW, 63 (1972) pp. 210-253, quotation on pp. 220, 221. Some manuscripts read *ἐκλεκτός* for *υἱός* in Jn.1:34, including the original hand of Codex Sinaiticus, the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac versions and probably the third century papyrus, P<sup>5</sup>.
3. Contrast R. Schnackenburg "It cannot...be maintained that the list of titles is meant to lead up to a climax in the 'Son of Man' (v.51), as though this were the loftiest and most important," p. 509 (see previous note).
4. See Jn.3:3,5,11;5:19,24,25;6:26,32,47,53 etc. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus' sayings are often introduced with a single *ἀμήν* followed by *λέγω*, but never with the double *ἀμήν ἀμήν* which is always the case in the Fourth Gospel (compare for example, Mt.5:18; Mk.3:28; Lk.4:24). For the view that the formula represents a very early gospel tradition, possibly originating with Jesus himself, see T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, second edition (1935) pp. 106, 207, 208; J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (E.T. 1971), pp. 35, 36. For a contrary view see K. Berger, "Zur Geschichte der Einleitungsformel 'Amen, ich sage euch'," ZNW, 63 (1972) pp. 45-75. For the view that the Johannine formula also represents an early tradition of Jesus-sayings see B. Lindars, *Behind the Fourth Gospel* (1971) and 'Traditions Behind the Fourth Gospel' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge, (1977) pp. 107-124 particularly pp. 115-117.
5. Jn.12:34 hardly counts as an exception because the crowd repeats Jesus' words. For the discussions for and against the use by Jesus of the expression "Son of man" as a title see



particularly R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (1965) pp. 34-43, and pp. 119-125; N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) pp. 164-199; G. Vermes, 'The Use of  $\Psi\Omega\Omega\Omega/\chi\psi\omega\omega$  in Jewish Aramaic' in M. Black's, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition, Appendix E (1967) pp. 310-328; *Jesus the Jew* (1973) pp. 160-191; P. M. Casey, *Son of Man* (1979) pp. 224-240; J.D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (1980) pp. 65-97; A.J.B. Higgins, *The Son of Man in the Teaching of Jesus* (1980) pp. 3-53; and B. Lindars *Jesus Son of Man* (1983) pp. 17-28.

6. Note that the phrase  $\eta\beta α σ ι λ ε ι α\tau ο υ\theta ε ο υ$  only occurs in Jn.3:3,5 in the Fourth Gospel and that the words  $κ η ρ υ σ σ ω$ ,  $κ ή ρ υ γ μ α$ ,  $ε υ α γ γ ε λ ί ζ ο μ α ι$ , and  $ε υ α γ γ ε λ ι ο ν$  do not occur in the Fourth Gospel but are frequent in the Synoptic Gospels. For the content of Jesus' teaching, according to the Synoptic Gospels, see T. W. Manson *The Teaching of Jesus*, second edition, reprinted (1935); N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967); J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (E.T.1971). For a history of the scholarship on Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God see N. Perrin *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (1963).
7. *The Fourth Gospel*, first edition, Vol. 1 (1940) pp. 175, 176.
8. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 293-294.
9. *Le Quatrième Évangile*, (1903) p. 261. But note that R. E. Brown favours the weaker textual evidence here of  $ἐκλεκτός$  instead of  $υἱός$ . He argues for the theological tendency of the copyist to change the title from "God's Chosen One" to "the Son of God". *The Gospel According to John I-XII* (1966) p. 57. Against this view see R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (E.T.1971) pp. 92, 93 n.6,
10. See the quotation by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, above page 100.
11. There is an interesting contrast to this commendation in Jn.14:8-11 where Jesus admonishes Philip for his lack of perception as to who he really is: "Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Shew us the Father?...Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." (Jn.14:9,11). Nathanael's belief in Jesus not only accords with the Baptist's (whom Jesus commends in Jn.5:33), but also accords with the Evangelist's stated intention for writing his Gospel: "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." (Jn.20:31).

12. Note that Mt.3:16 and Mk.1:10 also have the verbs ἀναβαίνω and καταβαίνω in the same order as Jn.1:51. A. Loisy prefers to include the temptation narrative for the presence of the angels, "Les métaphores par lesquelles Jésus annonce les miracles de l'avenir semblent être des réminiscences de la tradition synoptique: <<le ciel ouvert>> est emprunté à la mise en scène du baptême, et les anges qui servent le Fils de l'homme, à l'histoire de la tentation." *Le Quatrième Évangile* (1903) p. 262. See also W. Michaelis "Joh 1,51, Gen.28,12 und das Menschensohn-Problem" *TLZ* 85(1960) pp. 561-578 particularly pp. 571ff where he argues that the angels in Jn.1:51 have their origin in the Synoptic temptation narrative. He denies any allusion to Jacob's vision in Gen.28:12
13. For a comparison between these narratives in the Fourth Gospel and those in the Synoptic Gospels see C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 142-151 and pp. 302-312. On the relation to the Lucan tradition for the call of the first disciples see F. L. Cribbs, 'St. Luke and the Johannine Tradition', *JBL* 90(1971), pp. 422-450.
14. The common use of the verb to see (ὄψω, v.50; ὄψεσθε, v.51) provides the link. See H. Windisch, 'Angelophanien um den Menschensohn auf Erden', *ZNW* 30 (1931) p. 217. See R. E. Brown's argument for this "detached saying" in his commentary Vol. 1, pp. 88-91.
15. "That Ch.21 represents a supplement is incontestable, because 20:30 is unmistakably the end of the book". W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, seventeenth edition, (E.T.1972) p. 207. On the question whether or not the Evangelist was responsible for this supplement see pp. 207, 208. W. G. Kümmel concludes that, "with a high degree of probability, Jn.21 must be regarded as an addition by a later hand", p. 208. Those commentators who agree include: C. K. Barrett; R. E. Brown, R. Bultmann, R. Schnackenburg and also C. H. Dodd.
16. For the understanding that the promise in Jn.1:50 refers to Jesus' signs particularly to Jn.2:11 see the commentaries by A. Schlatter, R. Schnackenburg, R. E. Brown and B. Lindars ad loc. According to B. Lindars and F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978), p. 37 Jn.2:11 is the beginning of an unfolding of the revelation which is fulfilled in the cross.
17. Note how the nobleman responds to Jesus' words and then to his sign in a way similar to Nathanael: "The man believed the word that Jesus spake unto him, and he went his way...So the father knew that it was at that hour in which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth: and himself believed, and his whole house." On the relation to the Lucan tradition see F. L. Cribbs, 'St. Luke and the Johannine Tradition', *JBL* 90(1971), pp. 422-450.



18. At least we can see that the editor responsible for the supplement to the Gospel saw some significance in Jesus' promise to Nathanael.
19. These words were addressed to Philip who, at the end of Jesus' public ministry asked "Lord, show us the Father". Jesus continued to explain to Philip, saying,

The words that I say to you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth his works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake.  
(Jn.14:10,11)

Unlike Philip, when Nathanael first saw Jesus he believed him to be the Son of God because he heard his words as the words of the Father. Therefore Jesus promised Nathanael that he would see his works (the "greater things") as the works of his heavenly Father.

20. The codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Ephraimi read *μονογενὴς θεός* instead of *μονογενὴς υἱός* in v.18. The reference here to the Son as God is not wholly alien to the Fourth Gospel (see Jn.1:1;20:28; and compare I Jn.5:20). See the note by R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, pp. 81,82 note 2.
21. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) p. 296. But contrast H. Windisch who sees Jn.1:51 as incompatible with the Christology which the Logos signifies: 'Angelophanien um den Menschensohn auf Erden. Zu Joh.1,51', *ZNW* 30 (1931) pp. 215-233 particularly, pp. 217-218.
22. *The Fourth Gospel*, first edition, Vol. 1 (1940) p. 188.
23. The title "Son of God" has already been anticipated in a particular way by Thomas when he addressed the risen Jesus as "My Lord and my God". It is tempting to read into Jesus' reply ("blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (Jn.20:29)) a further commendation of Nathanael's early belief in Jesus over against Philip and the other disciples. Perhaps he represents those disciples who entered the Johannine community subsequent to Jesus' return to the Father but who believed the witness of other disciples, and their interpretation of the scriptures as witness, in addition to seeing "greater works" done by the disciples of Jesus as Jesus foretold to Philip (Jn.14:12 compare Jn.1:50 "greater things"). Here I agree with E. Käsemann, 'The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel' in *New Testament Questions For Today* (E.T. 1969), p. 167, that the Prologue anticipates the conclusion in Jn.20:31 that Jesus is the pre-existent Son of God. The Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 is



therefore a key element for the Johannine understanding of Jn.1:18,20:31. The use of the title "the Son of God" together with the "King of Israel" by Nathanael may well have amounted only to a messianic belief in Jesus initially, but the association with the Baptist's testimony and with the Son of man saying in Jn.1:51 shows that the Johannine understanding of the title "the Son of God" is different. See M. de Jonge, 'Jewish Expectations about the 'Messiah' according to the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 19(1972-73), pp. 248-270.

24. See above pages 47-53 and see the notes there for the introductory literature to the Son of man problem in the gospel tradition. For the formal similarities in the Johannine sayings see particularly S. S. Smalley, 'The Johannine Son of Man Sayings', *NTS* 15(1968-69), pp. 278-301.
25. For example J. Jeremias thinks that only Jn.1:51 goes back to an older synoptic tradition (Mk.14:62 par.): *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (E.T.1971) pp. 263-4. A. J. B. Higgins thinks that only Jn.1:51;3:14;5:27;8:28;12:34 are Synoptic-type sayings: *Jesus and the Son of Man* (1964) pp. 157-171. For the view that all the Johannine Son of Man sayings resemble the Synoptic sayings see S. S. Smalley, 'The Johannine Son of Man Sayings', *NTS* 15 (1968-9) pp. 278-299.
26. For example J. Jeremias includes this saying among a small cluster of Son of man sayings from the Synoptic Gospels which he considers belong to a much older tradition of future sayings about the Son of man. He adds more cautiously, "Only John 1:51 seems to fall outside this framework. But even in the case of this saying, the double introduction to which (*λέγει αὐτῷ* singular / *λέγω ὑμῖν* plural) shows it to be earlier than John, we must consider whether the original reference was not similarly to the epiphany of the Son of man. This is suggested by the *ὄψεσθε* (cf. Mark 14:62 par.), the opening of the heavens (cf. Rev.19:11) and the mention of the angels (cf. Mark 8.38 par.)". *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1 (1971) pp. 263,264. A. J. B. Higgins lists four reasons why Jn.1:51 resembles the Synoptic sayings: (a) there is no explicit identification of the Son of man with Jesus; (b) Only Jn.1:51 and Jn.6:53 have Son of man sayings introduced by 'Amen, amen'. Of the Synoptic Son of man sayings only three are introduced by "Amen" (Mt.10:23;16:28;19:28) and they, like Jn.1:51 "all look to the future glory of the Son of man"; (c) The description of the open heaven in Jn.1:51 resembles Acts 7:56 and "less directly" Mk.14:62; (d) the Son of man is associated with angels as in Mk.8:38 (par.); Mk.13:27 (par.); Mt.13:41;25:31. *Jesus and the Son of Man* (1964) pp. 157-8. For those commentators who recognise a resemblance between Jn.1:51 and Mk.14:62 (par.) see for example R. Schnackenburg; R. E. Brown; C. K. Barrett; B. Lindars ad loc.
27. Mark shows a preference for the singular: Matthew often has

the plural but the Fourth Gospel always has the singular form of the noun.

28. These include the codices *A* *Θ* *Ψ* the minuscule families 1 and 13 and the Peshitta. Those commentators who accept that the phrase is taken from Mt.26:64 include Sir Edwyn Hoskyns; R. Bultmann; R. Schnackenburg; C. K. Barrett ad loc.
29. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) pp. 293-294.
30. The phrase *παντα ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῆς γῆς* also appears in Mt.24:30! The link is perhaps slim but interesting that this phrase occurs in God's promise to Jacob in his vision at Bethel Gen.28:14. See below on the use of Gen.28:12 in Jn.1:51, pp.122-130.
31. N. Perrin recognises a Christian pesher tradition in the use of Zech.12:10 and links Mk.14:62 par. with this 'exegetical tradition': See *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) 181-185.
32. This is consistent with the use of Zech.12:10 in Jn.19:37 in contrast with the use of this testimonium in Mt.24:30 and Rev.1:7. It is difficult to make sense of the Masoretic text of Zech 12:10 which reads *נִפְצָה וְנִחַרְנָה*. The Revised Version follows the Septuagint *πρός με* which is the more difficult reading, implying God is pierced. The Revised Standard Version reads "upon him" following some manuscripts which have *נִפְצָה לָּהּ*, this is also the proposed reading in Gesenius' Kautzsch Hebrew Grammar, Section 138, e (n.1). The textual problem enabled Messianic interpretations to be given. Jn.19:37 also reads "upon him" as in the Christian pesher tradition, according to N. Perrin, differing from the Hebrew and the Septuagint in the verbs used. However, the Fourth Evangelist may also be aware of other interpretative traditions within Judaism on this disputed text because: (a) Jn.19:37 signifies that the object to be looked at is on earth and not in heaven; and (b) the Johannine use of Zech.12:10 follows a similar pattern to Jn.1:51 and 3:14 which also involve a reinterpretation of a Synoptic tradition; the use of a disputed Old Testament text concerned with vision; and a connection with the expression "son of man" in Dan.7:13. I am suggesting that the Fourth Evangelist is not only aware of a Christian pesher tradition on Zech.12:10, but reinterprets that tradition in the light of other interpretative traditions within Judaism. He is therefore more concerned to show his interpretation of a disputed text than to show the fulfilment of prophecy. He is saying, as in Jn.1:51 and 3:14 that the vision of the Son of man for salvation and judgment takes place on earth and Zech.12:10 is fulfilled on earth and not in heaven. For a Christological interpretation of Jn.19:37 see R. Schnackenburg, *Commentary*, contrast C. K. Barrett ad loc.



33. Instead of *ἀνυψωμένους* in Acts 7:56 Codex Bezae, the eighth century Codex Athous Laurae and the seventeenth century papyrus P<sup>74</sup> read *ἀνέωχμένους* which is closer to Jn.1:51 and to other descriptions in the New Testament of the vision of the open heaven in Acts 10:11 and Rev. 19:11 which read *τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡνεωγμένον*.
34. *Jesus and the Son of Man* (1964) p. 157.
35. *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) p. 177. See also C. K. Barrett, 'Stephen and the Son of Man' in *Apophoreta*, edited by W. Eltester (1964) pp. 32-38. Also referred to by N. Perrin.
36. Taken together, the opening words of Stephen (*ὁδοῦ θεωρῶ*); and the description that the Son of man is standing (*ἑστῶτα*) as though to execute judgment, suggests that Stephen is prophesying the condemnation of his accusers in the final judgment.
37. The description of the open heaven is also appropriate in visions given to individuals, for example, Ezek.1:1; Acts 10:11; Rev.19:11 and compare Jesus' baptismal vision Mk.1:10 par. particularly the Greek of Lk.3:21.
38. The use of the perfect tense in Jn.1:51 (*ἀνέωχότα*) in contrast to Acts 7:56 and other accounts of the vision of the open heaven may signify that individual believers like Nathanael will continually see Jesus' glory not only through his signs (Jn.2:11) but also through his death (Jn.12:23,24); hence the meaning of the bath qol (Jn.12:28). Compare N.A. Dahl who thinks that Jn.1:51 refers particularly to the vision of the Son of man on the cross: 'The Johannine Church and History', in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation* edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962) pp. 124-142. Also F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1976).
39. The ascension is thus one more manifestation of the glory of the heavenly Son of man.
40. See N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) p. 179.
41. Note that Martha expressed a similar belief in Jesus to that of Nathanael: "I have believed that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, even he that cometh into the world" (Jn.11:27 see Jn.1:49).
42. Some manuscripts read 'Son of God' instead of 'Son of man' but *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is the more difficult reading found in P<sup>66</sup>, P<sup>75</sup>=*XB<sup>Δ</sup>Wsy* and is therefore more likely to be the original text. We shall discuss this Son of man saying in the final chapter of this thesis.



43. T. Preiss refers to this aspect of the Fourth Gospel as "juridical mysticism" in 'Justification in Johannine Thought' in *Life in Christ* (1954) pp. 9-31. The heavenly court . . . reverses the judgments of men against those who believe and who are therefore "not of this world" (Jn.17:14). For the idea of a forensic dualism in the Gospel see also N. A. Dahl, 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962), pp. 124-142; P. Borgen, who links this dualism with the concept of the halakhic agent applied to angels, in 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel' in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner (1968), pp. 137-148; He refers to Theo Preiss' expression "juridical mysticism" with approval in *Bread from Heaven* (1965), p. 162; on the legal context for the whole of the Fourth Gospel see, S. Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel* (1975); W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (1967), pp. 305-307; and A. E. Harvey, *Jesus on Trial* (1976): compare C. H. Dodd's comment on the Fourth Evangelist's use of the testimonium from Isa.6:10, "The version which underlies the Johannine form of the citation, implying a 'judicial blinding' of rebellious Israel, seems to find a clear echo in another passage of the same gospel, ix, 39." in *According to the Scriptures* (1952), p. 38. The testimonium is also in the Synoptic Gospels. This touches the heart of my thesis because the Johannine interpretation of the testimonium is different from the Synoptics. Our Evangelist explains this realised eschatology through his interpretation of Isaiah's throne vision to show that Isaiah saw Jesus' glory (Jn.12:41). The believer in the historical situation of the Johannine community also bears witness to Jesus' glory and therefore continues the prophetic witness which brings salvation and judgment in the present. A fundamental difference between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel is explained through the interpretation of scripture, of a throne vision. The study of the Johannine Son of man sayings suggests that our Evangelist is aware of other interpretations of the throne vision, including those in apocalyptic Judaism. Against C. H. Dodd and others who see the Son of man in all four Gospels as a corporate figure in the light of Dan.7:18ff, I think that Dan.7:18ff is just one interpretation of the throne vision in Dan.7, and that the Fourth Evangelist gives a different interpretation of that throne vision in the light of his belief that Jesus is the Word become flesh. On the significance of Daniel 7 in the Judeo-Christian tradition see P. M. Casey, *The Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London, 1979).
44. This is not the same as J. A. Bühner's thesis, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium*, (1977). He argues that in the Fourth Gospel the descent of the Son of man prior to his ascent depends upon a previous ascent into heaven, similar to

Enoch, see particularly pp. 385-399.

45. A. J. B. Higgins writes: "It is surely not without significance that this is the sole non-synoptic feature of the saying". *Jesus and the Son of Man* (1964) p. 158.
46. This is the view of many commentators, for example, Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, R. Bultmann, C. K. Barrett, R. Schnackenburg, R. E. Brown, B. Lindars ad loc. For a contrary view see W. Michaelis, 'John 1:51, Gen.28:12 und das Menschensohn - Problem, TLZ 85(1960) pp. 561-78. See particularly S. Trowbridge, 'John 1:51. An Examination of the Background of a Johannine Saying and of its Purpose in the Gospel' (unpublished M.Litt. dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981). For a useful survey of the views held by scholars on the relation of Jn.1:51 to Gen.28:12 see F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man* (1978), pp. 26-35. See also the forthcoming article by C. C. Rowland in *NTS*.
47. ἀλγθῶς used here in the attributive sense, gives the meaning "one who is worthy of the name of Israel". See R. Bultmann, commentary, p. 104 n.4.
48. For the alternative reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός see note 2 above. P<sup>46</sup> and P<sup>75</sup> both have υἱός and this is in the text of Nestle-Aland, twenty sixth edition.
49. See A. T. Hanson, 'The Theme of Christ as the True Temple in the Fourth Gospel', in *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture* (1980), pp. 110-121, and particularly pp. 110-112.
50. We have seen already that Jesus told Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." (Jn.14:9). In chapter five of the Fourth Gospel, in which Jesus disputes with the Jews concerning his equality with God, Jesus claims that he bears the Father's name saying to the Jews, "And the Father which sent me, he hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his form...I am come in my Father's name." (Jn.5:37,43 see also Jn.12:28;17:6,11,12,26). Compare the rhetorical reply to Jacob's request to know the name of the one he wrestled with, "Why is it that you ask my name?"
51. On this occasion my quotation of scripture is from the N.E.B. version because it describes the Lord "standing beside" Jacob (mg. "on it"; "by it"). The R. V. translates "stood above it" implying that the Lord is still in heaven. The R.S.V. follows the R.V. and both, in the margin give the alternative meaning that the Lord stood beside Jacob. The Jerusalem Bible reads "And Yahweh was there, standing over him." J. Skinner in the I.C.C. series on Genesis reads "Yahweh stood by him". Accepting that some versions take אֲשֶׁר (ladder) as



antecedent to the suffix, J. Skinner argues that "the idea would have been expressed otherwise (*יָשַׁב עַל הַכִּסֵּא*), and the translation loses all its plausibility when the composition of documents is recognised. *Genesis* second edition (1930) p. 377. E. A. Speiser agrees with J. S. Skinner and compares Gen.18:2 to show idiomatic usage. *Genesis, The Anchor Bible Series* (1964) p. 218.

52. In contrast, some apocalyptic visionaries claimed they had to ascend through the doors of the heavens to seek the throne vision.
53. Translation by M. McNamara with M. Maker in *Neophyti 1*, Vol.1, edited by A. Diez-Macho, (1968-78), p. 572.
54. The same interpretation is in Pseudo-Johathan. In Ber.R.69:1, 2, Rabbi Jose b.Zimra and R. Hanina say Gen.28:13 refers to the "glory" and "Shechinah". There are two things to note here. Firstly, R. Zimra identifies himself with Jacob quoting Ps. 83:2 (Heb.). This makes more plausible the suggestion that Nathanael is identified with Jacob in Jn.1:51. not the Son of man with Jacob (against H. Odeberg, C. H. Dodd, etc.) see M. E. Boismard, *Du Baptême à Cana (Jean 1,19-22)* (1956), pp. 123-127. However, he argues that the object of Jacob's vision is in heaven and sees the promise in Jn.1:51 as referring to Jesus' exaltation on the cross, but the Targums and Ber.R.69:1,2 state that the object of vision is on earth and not on the ladder. R. le Déaut, 'Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation', *BTB* 4(1974), pp. 243-289. The Targums and Ber.R.69:1,2 are therefore closer to my interpretation of Jn.1:51 that Nathanael like Jacob receives the vision of God's glory through the heavenly Son of man figure who descended to earth. I am not suggesting a possible source here for Jn.1:51 but merely pointing out that my understanding of the Fourth Evangelist's interpretation of Gen.28:12,13 is not beyond the possibility of a Jewish hermeneutic. This could be the point of innovation on the part of the Evangelist.
55. See S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (1981), pp. 254, 255 for the significance of this interpretation for Ezek.1:26 and Dan.7:13.
56. See H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel* (1928) pp. 33-41 and C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922) p. 116. And commentaries by C. K. Barrett; R. Bultmann; R. Schnackenburg; R. E. Brown ad.loc.
57. Translation by H. Freedman from the Midrash Rabbah, Soncino edition, Vol. 2, p. 626.
58. Translation by H. Freedman, pp. 717, 718.



59. Other references to Jacob's features being engraved in heaven include Ber.R.82:2; and B. Hullin 91b.
60. English translation by M. McNamara and M. Maker, in *Neophyti I* edited by A. Diez Macho (1968-78) p. 572
61. See pages 134-141. On the significance of Ezek.1 for Jn.1:51 see particularly G. Quispel, 'Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh 1,51)', *ZNW* 47 (1956), pp. 281-283. I recognise this significance for the vision of the open heaven in Jn.1:51 but against G. Quispel and others I suggest that our Evangelist shows that the object of vision is on earth and not in heaven. See M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, second edition, (1954), p. 85. He points out that the Aramaic preposition behind the Greek translation ἐπί would give the meaning "towards". He writes: "The picture we have then is of the heavens opened and angels from above and beneath converging on the Son of Man, the central figure". (There is no comment on Jn.1:51 in M. Black's third edition). Note the similar meaning of ἐπί in Acts 1:15 and 2:47 which describe the convergence of large crowds towards a particular individual and towards a particular community. But it would be more consistent to give the meaning "upon" to ἐπί in Jn.1:51 since the Son of man is on earth. This would mean that the Evangelist interprets the movement of the angels in the same way as the Targums, and only the verb "to descend" is governed by the preposition. This is unusual because two verbs joined by καὶ are usually both governed by a single preposition which follows them. However, in Jn.14:28 we have an example where two verbs of motion are joined by καὶ but only the second verb is governed by the preposition:
- ὑπάγω καὶ ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ;
- Clearly Jesus is speaking of his departure to the Father and of his return to his disciples. I am indebted to an unpublished paper by C. C. Rowland for this example. Others who see the significance of Ezekiel's throne vision for Jn.1:51 include P. Borgen, 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel', in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (1968), pp. 137-148; N. A. Dahl, 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962), pp. 124-142; W. Meeks, 'The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 44-72; and the forthcoming article by C. C. Rowland in *NTS*.
62. J. Z. Smith in his text and commentary has the angel Israel speak the words "I descended to earth and I tabernacled among men and I am called by the name of Jacob" in 'The Prayer of Joseph' in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (1968) pp. 253-294. He dates this Apocryphon first or second century C.E., also M. Hengel, *The Son of God* (E.T., 1976), pp. 47, 48; C. H. Talbert, 'The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity', *NTS* 22 (1976), pp. 418-440, particularly pp. 425, 426; and A. F. Segal, *Two*

*Powers in Heaven* (1977), pp. 199ff. Contrast the cautionary note by J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (1980), p.21. For the view that it is a Jewish-Christian work see J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (E.T. 1964) pp. 16,17. He sees that the Apocryphon has close affinities with the Ascension of Isaiah which describes the hidden descent of Christ through the heavens, and the hostility and rivalry of the angels.

63. The claim to tabernacle among men may imply that Uriel claims for himself the possession of the divine name. Compare, for example, Psalm of Solomon 7:5,9. "Whilst thy name tabernacles in the midst of us (ἐν τῷ κατασκηνοῦν τὸ ὄνομα σου ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν)...Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein thou didst promise".
64. For the relation of the Prayer of Joseph to Jewish Wisdom tradition and merkabah mysticism see J. Z. Smith, 'The Prayer of Joseph', in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner (1968) pp. 253-294. Also M. Hengel, *The Son of God* (E.T. 1976) pp. 41-56 particularly pp. 47, 48.
65. This is a common feature in the descriptions of the merkabah mystic's heavenly journey. See for example the accounts of Enoch's ascent into heaven in the Enoch literature.
66. Contrast C. H. Dodd who with many other scholars, finds support for a corporate Son of man figure in Jn.1:51 by identifying Jesus with Jacob-Israel in the Jewish interpretations of Gen.28:12, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), pp. 241-249. Instead I think that the Fourth Evangelist's use of Gen.28:12 is his scriptural base for a reinterpretation of the Synoptic Son of man tradition. The examples I have shown from the Targums and elsewhere are not intended to suggest Johannine dependence upon existing interpretations of Gen.28:12 within Judaism. Those interpretations simply illustrate that the point of innovation in the Johannine reinterpretation of the Synoptic Son of man tradition could easily begin here. I am suggesting that the Fourth Evangelist offers a Christian interpretation of ambiguous Old Testament texts which are significant for disputes within Judaism concerning God's communication with man. Our Evangelist explores the field of scripture to defend his claim that he is a true Israelite who believes that in Jesus the Word becomes flesh. In the final section of this Chapter I suggest why our Evangelist chose to associate Gen.28:12 with the expression "the Son of man" and not with any of the other titles that appear in Jn.1.
67. Compare the Greek text of the throne vision in Rev.19:11ff with the vision of "one like unto a Son of man" in Rev.1:13ff.



οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ [ὡς] φλόξ πυρός... καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα.

(Rev. 19:12, 15)

οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός... καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη

(Rev. 1:14, 16)

The *ὡς* in Rev. 19:12 is omitted by Codex Sinaiticus and the tenth century manuscript 051 together with the majority text. This possibly reflects assimilation to Rev. 1:14 particularly in the light of the insertion of *δίστομος* in Rev. 19:15 according to the tenth to twelfth century manuscripts 1006; 1841; 1854; 2030; 2329 and the majority text of the Koine type.

68. "This chapter itself shows no evidence whatsoever of Christian influence, and, treated in isolation, it is quite clear that it is entirely Jewish in its inspiration". C. C. Rowland 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature', JSJ 10(1979) pp. 137-154 quotation on p. 145. For the links between Rev. 4 and the throne visions in Ezekiel and Isaiah and in early Jewish Apocalyptic literature see pp. 145-150.
69. I have followed the translation by E. Isaac in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, Vol. 1 (1983) p. 21. See the marginal references for a detailed discussion of the relation of this passage to Ezek. 1 and for other throne-visions see C. C. Rowland 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature' JSJ 10(1979) pp. 137-154 particularly pp. 140-145.
70. For a general discussion on the significance of Ezek. 1:1ff for the heavenly journey see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, (1960); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalypticism and Merkabah Mysticism*, (1979); and C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, (1982). For the view that Jn. 1:51 should be interpreted in the light of Ezekiel's vision of the merkabah in Ezek. 1:1ff see especially G. Quispel, 'Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh. 1,51)', ZNW 47 (1956), pp. 281-3 and N. A. Dahl, 'the Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder (1962), pp. 124-142 particularly p. 136.
71. The translations of Test. Levi. are by H. C. Kee in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1 (1983), pp. 788-790. See also M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A*



*Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, (1978) and R. H. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. II, edited by R. H. Charles, (1913). For the view that the Testaments are an essentially Jewish writing and that many of the so-called Christian interpolations are the work of a Jewish redactor see A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, (E.T., 1954), pp. 38-57; and M. Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qumran*, (1960); for a criticism of these views see M. de Jonge, 'Christian influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', in *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, edited by M. de Jonge, (1975) pp. 193-246.

72. H. C. Kee also identifies these allusions to Gen.28 in his translation. See the marginal notes in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, pp. 788, 789, 791.
73. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, (1978) p. 29. In Test. Levi 9:3 Jacob's vision is referred to: "When we came to Bethel my father, Jacob, saw a vision concerning me that I should be in the priesthood." Gen.28:12 merely confirms Levi's superior throne-vision where the blessing of the priesthood is given to Levi by the Lord seated on the divine throne. There is no mention of the "gate of heaven" in Test. Levi 9:3 because that vision is for Levi (cf. Jub.32:1) and shows his superiority over Jacob in contrast to the biblical narrative. Therefore Test. Levi may reflect a particular stance concerning modes of vision and their superiority. It is significant for Jn.1:51 that Gen.28:12 is involved here.
74. I. Gruenwald, 'Knowledge and Vision: towards a clarification of two "Gnostic" concepts in the light of their alleged origins', in *JOS* 3 (1973) pp. 63-107. The quotation is from p. 88. See also C. C. Rowland, 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature', *JSJ* 10 (1979) pp. 137-154 particularly for the relation of these early passages to the New Testament Apocalypse (Rev.4).
75. From his introduction and translation of 3 Enoch in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1 edited by J. H. Charlesworth, (1983), p. 247.
76. On the identification of the figure on the throne in Ezek.1:26 with the angelic messenger in Ezek.8:2 see C. Colpe, *TDNT* 8, p. 418 n.151; M. Black, 'The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the "Son of Man"', in *Jews, Greeks and Christians* edited by R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, (1976) pp. 57-73; and C. C. Rowland, 'The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev.1:13ff: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology' in *JTS* (N.S.) 31 (1980) pp. 1-11 and S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (1982), pp. 239-252.

"a man"

77. The words *in italics* translated *וְיָ* as "~~a man~~" as in the RSV and the N.E.B. For the significance of this figure in relation to Dan.7:13 and Rev.1:13 see note 76 above, particularly C. C. Rowland and S. Kim. Both argue that Ezek.1:26 and Gen.1:26 are the basic texts in a mystical tradition within Judaism concerning the apocalyptic throne-vision, and they both see the significance of Gen.28:12; Jn.1:51 in relation to the merkabah tradition. However, they both identify the Johannine Son of man with Jacob-Israel, following the commonly held view of a corporate Son of man figure in the Fourth Gospel. See C. C. Rowland's forthcoming article in *NTS* and S. Kim, pp. 255, 256 where he quotes C. H. Dodd in support of a corporate view. Kim's thesis argues that Paul's Damascus vision reflects the merkabah mystical tradition within Judaism. He sees that vision as the basis for Paul's theology and argues how that vision explains Paul's concept of the Church as the Body of Christ.
78. For the literary and theological connection between Ezek.1:26 and Dan.7:13 see A. Feuillet 'Le Fils de l'Homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique' in *RB* 60(1953) pp. 170ff. This article is cited by M. Black and S. Kim, note 76 above.
79. Note that the thought expressed here is the same as in Jn.1:18 that no man has ever seen God. Compare the Angel Israel in the Prayer of Joseph who is called by God "Israel, the one who sees God". This angel ministers before the face of God. According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus is the one who sees God. He is in the bosom of the Father, and this is stated particularly with Moses in mind in Jn.1:17,18, and with Jacob in mind in Jn.1:51. The implication is that Moses and Jacob saw the pre-existent Son of man figure, whereas the Jews in Jn.5:44 did not. For this interpretation see also Jn.12:41, 43,45. Jn.5:44-47 identifies the glory of God with Jesus and may have Exod.33:19-23 in mind because there Moses sought the glory of the Lord (Exod.33:18).
80. Compare Ezek.8:2 and see note 76 above.



## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 2

1. J. Bowker says of Nicodemus that "in chapter iii he appears very much as the representative of traditional Judaism in relation to which the consequences of Jesus are being explored", in 'The Origin and Purpose of St. John's Gospel', *NTS* 11 (1964-5), pp. 398-408, quotation from page 400.
2. See Mt.27:57-61; Mk.15:42-47; Lk.23:50-56 and compare Jn.19:38-42. For a comparison of the Synoptic narrative with the Fourth Gospel see C. H. Dodd *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 137-139.
3. This detail may be reflected in the Fourth Gospel in the other detail concerning Nicodemus who, judging by the ridiculous amount of ointment he brings, was apparently a rich man! See Jn.19:39.
4. See pages 161-168.
5. Contrast C. H. Dodd, "The incidental note that the tomb was in a garden and near to Golgotha has the appearance of resting on information received rather than on the story-teller's imagination". *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 139,140n.2. This is possible, but I think that our Evangelist is a good story-teller who is able to describe the tension of divisions within Judaism in the *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine community by inserting those tensions into the gospel story.
6. See Lk.2:25,38. I. Howard Marshall comments "a phrase which joins him with the pious Israelites described in the birth narratives" *The Gospel of Luke*, (1978) p. 880.
7. Compare the division among the Pharisees described in Jn.9:16. The disciples of Moses say "This man is not from God, because he keepeth not the sabbath". But others said, How can a man that is a sinner do such signs?" The hard-liners judge Jesus according to their interpretation of the Law of Moses. Nicodemus, "the teacher of Israel", is under pressure to follow that interpretation.
8. "In the context ἐραύνησον certainly refers to the study of the scriptures, as it did in 5:39", R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, p. 311, n.5
9. On the relation between the Pharisees and the 'am ha 'aretz see the appendix by G. F. Moore in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 1, edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (1942) pp. 439-445. For the identification of the Galilaeans with the 'am ha 'aretz see G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, (1973), pp. 41-57. In the rabbinic writings the term 'am ha 'aretz is frequently used in contrast to the scholars of the Torah, see



for example Nedarim 14a and 20a. See also R. Bultmann, *Commentary*, pp. 310, 311, n.5 for the identification of the crowd in Jn.7:49 with the 'am ha 'aretz.

10. Concerning Jn.4:44, the Evangelist reinterprets the proverbial saying in the Synoptic account to show that it is the Jews in Judaea, in particular their religious teachers, who reject Jesus (contrast Mk.6:4; Lk.4:24). See the commentaries by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns and C. K. Barrett ad loc., but contrast R. Bultmann, p. 204, n.4
11. Compare the Angel's praise of the seer in 4 Ezra, "You often compared yourself to the unrighteous. Never do so! But even in this respect you will be praiseworthy before the Most High, because you humble yourself, as is becoming for you, and have not deemed yourself to be among the righteous in order to receive the greatest glory. For many miseries will affect those who inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. But think of your own case, and inquire concerning the glory of those who are like yourself, because it is for you that Paradise is opened." (4 Ez.47-52).
12. S. Holmes suggests the ἁγίων could refer to "holy ones, i.e. the angels ascending and descending". In *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 1, edited by R. H. Charles, (1913) p. 551. Alternatively ἁγίων may pertain to the secrets of the heavenly inner sanctuary where the throne of glory resides, such as we find in the descriptions of the visions of the mystics. This would include details of the angels of the presence serving before the face of God.
13. The second person plural (ὕμῖν and πιστεύετε) probably indicates the historical situation of the Johannine community in debate with those within Judaism who were familiar with the mystical traditions that we have looked at already. Compare the use of the plural in Jn.1:51.
14. In both references I follow the R.V. margin which reads τῇ δεξιᾷ dative of place. This corresponds to καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρον αὐτοῦ in Acts 2:30 showing that Jesus shares God's throne. Blass-Debrunner agrees that Acts 2:33; 5:31 is "local rather than instrumental", p. 107, Fig. 199. See also E. Haenchen *The Acts of the Apostles* (E.T.1971) p. 183.
15. On the use of the testimonium in the New Testament see C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, (1952), pp. 92-94; 124-5 and particularly p. 122.
16. On the identification of the Son of man with the Suffering-Servant see W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah*, (1943), pp. 171-174; T. W. Manson, *The Servant Messiah*, (1961), pp. 80-88; and W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, *The Servant of God*, revised edition (1965). For an historical and critical study

of the servant passages in Isaiah see C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, second edition, (1956). Against the identification of the Son of man with the Suffering Servant are M. Hooker and C. K. Barrett.

17. This narrative from the Old Testament confirms Jesus' words in Jn.3:15 that eternal life is given to anyone who believes. Nicodemus "the teacher of Israel" is therefore reminded that in the wilderness all Israelites were equal and not some more equal than others in receiving deliverance from God.
18. See page 169.
19. Translated by M. Simon in the Soncino edition of the Talmud. For similar interpretations within the Early Church see the Epistle of Barnabas, 12:5-7 and Justin's 'Dialogue with Trypho', 112, which link the vision of Christ on the cross with the Serpent on the pole. N. de Lange notes that Ep. Barn.12:2; Justin's Dialogue 90,91,112,131 make the same analogy with the lifting up of Moses arms during the battle against Amalek (Exod.17:11), in *Origen and the Jews*, (1976). All rabbinic translations and references in this thesis are given in consultation with Dr. N. de Lange.
20. We also saw that Jesus specifically denies that vision to Nicodemus unless he confesses belief in Jesus through baptism (see Jn.3:3,5).
21. *Commentary*, p.150n.1. See also H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel* (1929) pp. 94-98.
22. See W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (1967), pp. 205-215. The Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael on Exod.19:11 refutes such claims for Moses. The Mekilta may reflect a controversy here which involved mystical ascents to the throne vision.
23. For the relevance of Rev.4; I Enoch 14; and Test.Levi 2 for the vision of the "open heaven" in Jn.1:51 see pages 135-141.
24. See page 138.
25. Translation by R. Rubinkiewicz in the *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983, p. 696). For the last sentence "You will not look at him himself") compare G. H. Box's translation "But Himself thou canst not see" in *Apocalypse of Abraham and Ascension of Isaiah, Translations of Early Documents*, (1918) p. 57. Note that the fourteenth century Codex Sylvester omits the words "And we ascended as if (carried) by many winds to the heaven this is fixed on the expanses. And I saw on the air..." There are many mistakes in this Codex and this one was probably caused by homoioteleuton of the word "ascended" in vv. 4 and 5. See G.



H. Box, p. 56.

26. In the Fourth Gospel<sup>when</sup> Jesus told the Jews that the truth would make them free they replied "We be Abraham's seed, and have never yet been in bondage to any man...Our father is Abraham" (Jn.8:33,39). Concerning revelations of the future, which Abraham received, Jesus told these Jews, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad" (Jn.8:56). Compare 4 Ezra 3:13,14 where the seer tells God of his dealings with the patriarchs: "You chose for yourself one of them whose name was Abraham; and you loved him and to him only you revealed the end of the times, secretly by night." Compare also the throne-vision in Rev.4, through which the seer gained knowledge of the future.
27. See pages 142-148.
28. *The Open Heaven* (1982) pp. 53,54
29. Translation by E. Isaac in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* edited by J. H. Charlesworth, (1983) p. 32. For similar lists of cosmic revelations see 2 Enoch 23 ("the coming of the clouds and the blowing of the winds, and the number of the angels etc." v.1). See M. Stone, 'Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature' in *Magnalia Dei* edited by F. M. Cross (1976) pp 414-452
30. Translation by B. M. Metzger, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, (see previous note) p. 529.
31. "Even if one can find passages in some of the major apocalyptic writings that still reflect the spirit of the 'biblical' idea of wisdom - and there clearly are some which may justifiably be interpreted as manifestations of an inner controversy within apocalyptic circles over how much knowledge can be hoped for - the key note voiced throughout apocalypticism is that which transcends the biblical concept of knowledge.", *The Open Heaven*, (1982), p. 52
32. I. Gruenwald, 'Knowledge and Vision', *I.O.S.* 3 (1973) p. 76. He also notes that this internal controversy may be found within the Enoch cycle of apocalyptic literature; compare I Enoch 41 with I Enoch 93:11-14.
33. See the introductions and bibliographies to these works in by B. M. Metzger and by A. F. J. Klijn, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1983), pp. 517-524, 615-620.
34. *The Open Heaven* (1983) p. 53.
35. 'Paradise in 4 Ezra iv: 8 and vii: 36, viii: 52', *JJS* 17 (1966) pp. 85-88. The quotation is from pp. 87,88.



36. For "whose eyes are exalted", another Latin text reads "whose are the highest heavens".
37. For the purposes of similarity of diction I am now following the translation of 4 Ezra according to the Revised Version of the English Bible.  
W. Meeks notes that Jn.3:12 represents an 'apocalyptic cliché' commonly found in dialogues between the seer and the angelic messenger. He sees that Jn.3:1-13 has close formal parallels with 4 Ezra 4:1-11,20-21. See his 'Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL*, 91 (1972) pp. 44-72.  
Compare J. A. Bühner's thesis that John combines the idea of the angelic messenger with that of the prophet who receives a visionary ascent to heaven. Jesus, like Enoch, is transformed into the Son of Man (I Enoch 71:14). In *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium*, (1977), especially pp. 385-99. My thesis runs directly contrary to this to suggest that the Son of man sayings in the Fourth Gospel, and Jn.3:13 in particular, in addition to addressing the debate with Judaism, address those Christian communities which see Jesus as a man who first ascends to heaven to become the Son of man who will return at the parousia. Our Evangelist reverses the movement to Descent-Ascent.
38. Compare a most interesting parallel to this saying in another vision in 4 Ezra. The angelic messenger speaks the words of God to the seer: "For this is the way whereof Moses spake unto the people while he lived, saying, Choose thee life, that thou mayst live. Nevertheless they believed not him, nor yet the prophets after him, no nor me which have spoken unto them" (4 Ez.4:129 see Jn.5:46,47)
39. Note that at a much later stage, in the Kabbalistic literature, such journeys were explained as a 'descent to the merkabah'. On the technical terms 'pardes' and 'ascending-descending' in mystical Judaism and its relation to the New Testament, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, (1960) pp. 14-19; J. Bowker 'Merkabah' Visions and the Visions of Paul', *JSS* 16 (1971), pp. 157-153; A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet* (1981), pp. 77-84; J. J. Gunther, *St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings* (1973), pp. 271-297; and C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (1982), pp. 358-392.
40. G. Scholem in article on 'Kabbalah' in *Enc. Jud.*
41. See. J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (E.T.1964) p. 126; and A. Ehrhardt, 'The Birth of the Synagogue and R. Akiba', in *The Framework of the New Testament Stories* (1964), p. 123.

42. *The Open Heaven*, p. 348. For the detailed discussion on the relation between Apocalyptic and early rabbinic mysticism see pp. 282-348. See also I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, (1979) and G. Scholem and J. Bowker, see note 38.
43. *The Open Heaven* (1982) pp. 54, 55.
44. See J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, (E.T., 1966), pp. 125-137; also *Jerusalem in The Time of Jesus*, (E.T., 1969), pp. 237-245. J. Jeremias discusses the importance of the scribes over the common people then writes, "However, the decisive reason for their dominant influence over the people has yet to be stated. The deciding factor was not that the scribes were the guardians of tradition in the domain of religious legislation, and because of this, could occupy key positions in society, but rather the fact, far too little recognised, that they were the guardians of a secret knowledge, of an esoteric tradition." J. Jeremias then quotes the Mishnah passage in M.Hagigah 2:1 as evidence of the arcane discipline and, later, continues, "Apocalyptic, preserved in the pseudepigraphical writings of late Judaism, with their descriptions of eschatological events and the cosmic topography of the celestial and the lower world, formed part of the esoteric tradition of the scribes. This much is clear, if only from the repeated descriptions in the writings of the most holy vision of the Chariot (I Enoch 14.9ff; 71.5ff; II Enoch 20-22)", p. 238 - earlier quotation on page 237. Note that W. D. Davies also recognises that the cosmological speculations in the Ma'aseh Bereshith and the Ma'aseh Merkabah were discussed by the rabbis, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, second edition, (1955), p.7 n.4.
45. K. Bornhäuser recognised that Nicodemus came to Jesus by night to receive esoteric teaching from Jesus concerning the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, of regeneration, and of redemption. *Das Johannesevangelium*, (Gütersloh, 1928), p. 26. I note this from J. Jeremias but have not been able to see Bornhäuser's commentary. See *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (E.T., 1969), p. 240. J. Jeremias, with K. Bornhäuser, claims that Nicodemus's motive was therefore pedagogic.



## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 3

1. I Enoch 46:4;62:7-11;69:27-29; compare 4 Ez.13:3,10-13 and Mk.13:26;14:62. Contrast R. Leivestad, 'Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 18 (1971-72), pp. 243-267 and P. M. Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*, (1979). In the Greek text there is no definite article but the verse refers to the figure in Dan.7:13 and therefore in order to get this meaning across the definite article is needed in English translation. I will later argue for the significance of this anarthrous Son of man saying as a reference to Dan.7:13. Meanwhile I will continue to refer to "the Son of man" without contradiction *in my own mind*.
2. Dan.12:4 shows another apocalyptic motif in the command for the contents of the book to be sealed until the end of time.
3. For example, R. Bultmann in his commentary and M. E. Boismard, 'L'évolution du thème eschatologique dans les traditions johanniques', *RB* 68 (1961) pp. 507-524.
4. See my introduction pages 13-24.
5. R. G. Hamerton-Kelly observes, "There is...the same formal procedure of interpreting an identification of Jesus as Son of man in terms of texts from the Old Testament (Dan.7), as in 1:51 and 3:14 and this indicates at least a certain, identifiable tradition of exegesis at work". *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man*, (1973), p. 236. See also A. J. B. Higgins, "1:51,3:14, and 5:27 enshrine very old traditions, going back to the Aramaic speaking church", *Jesus and the Son of Man*, (1964), p. 170.
6. There are various levels of belief in the Fourth Gospel. The belief of the rulers expressed here is not to be confused with the belief of Nathanael and the disciples which involved confessing and following Jesus. The inferiority of the belief expressed here is discussed more fully in my discussion of the Son of man saying in Jn.8:28. See below pages 285-304.
7. See in particular the thesis of J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979) pp. 82-89. However, the term "the Jews" is not used uniformly throughout the Gospel, compare Jn.6.
8. In 'The Johannine "Jews": A Critical Survey', *NTS* 28 (1982), pp. 33-60. For a bibliography of studies on the Jews in John's Gospel see pp. 54, 55, n.1.
9. U. C. von Wahlde, p. 54
10. See pages 261-266.



11. See particularly J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition, (1979) pp. 82-89.
12. See W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, (1966), pp. 286-290
13. *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963), p. 95.
14. *The Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (1979) p. 199. F. M. Casey refers to a parallel in Test.Abr. 13 in support of his argument. For specifically Johannine studies which assume that the Johannine Son of Man refers to Jesus' human nature see E. C. Hoskyns', *The Fourth Gospel*, edited by F. N. Davey, second edition (1947); E. M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel*, (1961) particularly pp. 112-136. Here we might also add to the list those British scholars who stress the corporate nature of the Johannine Son of Man figure. This list would include C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, (1953) pp. 241-249 and F. J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man*, (1976).
15. See page 99 note 5.
16. See P. M. Casey, *Son of Man* (1979) pp. 198, 199 and R. Leivestad, 'Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 18 (1971-72), pp. 243-267. For a reply to R. Leivestad's essay see B. Lindars, 'Re-enter the Apocalyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 22 (1975-76), pp. 52-72.
17. See page 318 note 1.
18. See P. M. Casey, *Son of Man*, p. 212; and R. Leivstad, 'Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man', p. 253.
19. See C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, second edition, (1978), p. 262
20. R. E. Brown says, "The result of the judgement in v.29 is a clear echo of Dan.12:2", in *The Gospel According to John* (I-XII) (1966), p. 220. See also S. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium*, (1957), p. 113
21. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, (1953) pp. 324-5. The footnote referred to earlier is also on these pages. On the rabbinic evidence for the "two powers" heretics see G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim*, Vol. 1 (1927) pp. 364-367. There is now a very thorough study of the "two powers" heretics, in which their relation to the New Testament writers is briefly touched upon, A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977). He argues that the evidence points to a date of at least the

late first century C.E. for these heretics. A. F. Segal points out that the rabbinic Hebrew for "powers" should properly be translated "authorities", see note 23.

22. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, (1953) p. 325 (n.2 continuing from p. 324).
23. The rabbinic term for these heretics is *תְּשׁוּבָה שְׁנִי* which can be translated more precisely as a heresy concerning "two authorities" in heaven. For a detailed discussion of the relation between merkabah mysticism and the rabbinic evidence of this heresy see A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977) pp. 60-73. For the suggestion that the Greek word *ἐξουσία* (authority) is a better translation than the English "power" see Segal, pp. 7; 8 n.8.
24. See A. F. Segal, note 23, and I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (1979)
25. I. Epstein's translation in *The Babylonian Talmud*, Soncino edition. I have translated "two powers" where he translates "two divinities".
26. For the argument that this tradition originally did not involve merkabah speculation see C. C. Rowlands, *The Open Heaven* (1982) pp. 306-340. However, he agrees with Morton Smith 'Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati' in *Biblical and other Studies*, edited by A. Altmann, (1963) pp. 142-160; and with G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, (1961), who see links between the traditions in the Talmud and mystical texts and apocalyptic and even New Testament texts of the first century C.E. On the significance of Aher in b.Hag.15a for Paul's theology see S. Kim, *The origin of Paul's Gospel*, (1981), p. 243
27. See particularly J. Greenfield's prolegomenon in the reprint of *III Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, edited by H. Odeberg (1928, reprinted 1963).
28. See G. A. Bux, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, (1908) p. 59. Concerning the celestial hymn G. Scholem states, "The bearers of the throne, were an authentic motif of the esotericism of the Jewish apocalypticists. Such hymns are mentioned not only in the Apocalypse of John (14:2-3), but also in the Apocalypse of Abraham (Chapter 18) - a text that more closely resembles a Merkavah text than any other in Jewish apocalyptic literature. The latter has even preserved (in Chapter 17) the full text of a hymn sung by the throne to God", *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, second edition, (1965), p. 23. See also C. C. Rowland, 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature', *JSJ* 10 (1979), pp. 150-152.



29. H. Odeberg's translation. 3 Enoch was probably written in the third century C.E. However, many of its traditions, coming from the Enoch cycle, are much earlier. See the prolegomenon by J. Greenfield to the reprint of H. Odeberg's, *III Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, (reprinted 1963); also P. S. Alexander, 'The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch', *JJS* 28 (1977), pp. 156-180. In his own translation of 3 Enoch P. S. Alexander comments on this verse, "From the quotation of Ex.23:21 here and elsewhere, it is clear that the concept of the "lesser YHWH" arose through speculation about the angel of the Lord in whom God's name resides." *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, (1983), p. 265.
30. See A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977) pp. 195-200, and G. Quispel, 'The Jung Codex and Its Significance' in *The Jung Codex*, edited and translated by F. L. Cross (1955) pp. 35-78. Also relevant to this argument is the discussion in Chapter 1 of this thesis concerning the Prayer of Joseph where the angel Israel rivals the angel Uriel for superiority. See pages 130-133.
31. *Two Powers in Heaven*, (1977), pp. 7, 8, n.8. See note 23.
32. See. P. Borgen, 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel' in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner (1968) pp. 137-148. On the list of titles in Jn.1 resembling lists given to divine beings see H. von Campenhausen, Chapter One, note 2.
33. See K. H. Rengstorff's article - ἀπόστολος in *TDNT* Vol.1. For the importance of the theme in the Fourth Gospel of Jesus as the one sent from God see J. P. Miranda, *Der Vater der mich gesandt hat* (1972); J. Kuhl, *Die Sendung Jesu und der Kirche nach dem Johannes evangelium* (1967); and particularly J. A. Bühner, *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium* (1977). Compare C. K. Barrett, 'The Father is Greater than I', John 14.28, Subordinationist Christology in the New Testament' in *Essays on John* (1982), pp. 19-36
34. See A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977) p. 216.
35. See pages 305-317.
36. Holtzmann and Bultmann hold that Jn.2:19,20 includes an allusion to Hosea 6:2. See also *The New Testament in the Revised Version of 1881 with Fuller References*, compiled by A. W. Greenup and J. H. Hope.
37. Following A. F. Segal's translation in *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977), pp. 33, 34. He puts it in synopsis form with a passage from Mekilta deRabbi Simeon b.Yohai.
38. The chapters that are chosen from the Book of Exodus for the



Mekilta are those which contain the most legal material. Although there is much haggadic material within the Mekilta, the work was intended to be halakhic. The Mekilta is therefore a midrash on certain chapters of Exodus, and is one of the earliest surviving midrashim which belong mainly to the Tannaitic period. This work contains many of the rival interpretations of scripture of the schools of Ishmael and of Akiba, and the passages cited here refer to controversies within Judaism concerning visions of God. This suggests that the controversies underlying the traditions of interpretation go back to an even earlier date. Thus we are probably dealing with material which is almost contemporary with the Fourth Gospel.

For a discussion of a controversy between Ishmael and Akiba based on the interpretation of Gen.1:1 and related to the "two powers" heresy see A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977) pp. 74-83.

39. "John proclaims that only a specific heavenly figure can have had a full vision of God - he who is from God, Jesus", A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, (1977) p. 214.
40. *Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael*, Vol. 2 (1933), p. 212,n.4. The next quotation also follows Lauterbach's translation, Vol. 2, p. 24
41. Braude in his translation of the *Pesiqta Rabbati* indicates that R. Levi refers to Gen.28:13 and Isa.6:1. Note that the description of the throne-vision in the Testament of Levi recalls Jacob's vision at Bethel, and Philo describing the figure standing on the ladder in Gen.28:13 refers to that figure as the archangel - Ἐμῆνυε δὲ τὸ ὄνκρ ἐστηρικμένον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, κύριον. See pages 122-133.

## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 4

1. C. H. Dodd notes that this detail of the intention of the Galilaeans occurs only in the Fourth Gospel. He sees "no plausible theological motive for such addition to the narrative". However, I argue that Jn.6:26,27 shows the Evangelist's theological motive to replace the popular view to "regard a prophet accredited by signs as claimant to Messiahship" with the high Christology of the Fourth Gospel that the signs bear witness to Jesus as the heavenly Son of man - Messiah. Contrast C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) pp. 213-215.
2. For the influence of the passover on the messianic expectation within Judaism see R. le Déaut *La Nuit Pascale* (1963); D. Daube 'He that Cometh' - a lecture given at St. Paul's Cathedral, London in October 1966; and M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition (1967), section headed 'Note on the Passover and Jewish Messianic Expectations', pp. 236-238.
3. Compare the reaction of the disciples to this vision according to Matthew's Gospel, "And they that were in the boat worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God". (Mt.14:33).
4. Compare the question of the 'Rich Young Ruler' in the Synoptic tradition "What must I do to inherit eternal life?". Jesus replied that he should keep the commandments of God (Mk.10:17-19).
5. See H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel* (1929), p. 256; and P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (1965).
6. H. Odeberg's translation in *The Fourth Gospel* (1929), p.242.
7. See C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953). He suggests that the contrast between the Torah and the incarnate Word is one of the governing ideas of the Gospel, pp. 75-86.
8. Compare "thou gavest thy people angels' food to eat" (Wisd.16:20). Also noteworthy is the fact that Mekilta emphasises the supra-terrestrial origin of the manna, for example, Mekilta on Exod.16:11-15. See W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (1966), p. 46.
9. See 2 Baruch 29:3-8.
10. See E. C. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, Vol. I (1942), p. 331.
11. For the messianic hope within Judaism of this period see E.



Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 2 Vols., revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black, Vol. 2 (1979), pp. 488-554 and see bibliography there.

12. J. Z. Lauterbach's translations, Vol. 2, p. 126.  
Compare the popular expectation of the Jews who, according to the Fourth Evangelist, ask John the Baptist whether he is the Christ or Elijah or the prophet (Jn.1:19-22). See J. A. T. Robinson, 'Elijah, John and Jesus' in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (1962), pp. 28-52.
13. See Jn.3:26;4:1-3 in the light of Jn.2:23;4:45;7:3
14. See Jn.6:14,15 and compare 7:31,40,41
15. For the rabbinic references to this symbolism and their relation to the symbolism of bread and water in the Fourth Gospel see C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), pp. 83, 84.
16. See pages 208, 209.
17. The intensive form is used in the Septuagint, διαγογγύζω together with the noun ὁ γογγυσμός. See R. le Déaut, 'Une aggadah targumique et les murmures de Jean 6', *Biblica* 51 (197-70), pp. 80-83
18. Compare Jn.1:47-49 with Jn.6:68,69: "Rabbi, you are the Son of God!...and we have believed and come to know, that you are the Holy One of God." This confession is possibly to be linked particularly with the vision of Jesus walking on the water which only the Twelve saw (compare Mt.14:33). In this way the Fourth Evangelist brings out the theme of belief and unbelief in relation to revelation.
19. *The Fourth Gospel*, first edition, Vol. 1 (1942), p. 333.
20. Compare I Cor.10:1-17 particularly vv.4,10.
21. According to Exod.16:4 the Lord rained bread from heaven "that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no". Similarly the heavenly Son of man "proves" his disciples through the eucharistic worship of the believers, whether they will continue to walk with him or not (Jn.6:6,66). Through the gospel tradition concerning the Feeding of the Five Thousand; Jesus walking on the water; Peter's confession and Judas' betrayal, our Evangelist gives an eschatological perspective to all three contexts of the Israelites in the wilderness; the Feeding by the Sea of Galilee; and the eucharistic worship of the Johannine community. This eschatological perspective is made possible through the Johannine interpretation of the vision of the open heaven



which implies that Moses and the Israelites did not see Yahweh on mount Sinai, but the Son of man. Thus Jesus tells the synagogue worshippers "Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is from God, he hath seen the Father" (Jn.6:46). Here I follow P. Borgen's view against G. Bornkamm and others that

- (a) Jn.6:51c-58 is not an interpolation, and
  - (b) This passage also centres on the vision of the Son of man.
- See my introduction pages 89, 90 and note 103.

22. Compare the Qumran Hodayoth with the earliest hymns in the New Testament, for example Phil.2:5-11; Col.1:15-20; see also Heb.12:22-23. See D. E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realised Eschatology in Early Christianity* (1972). In my thesis I only give the briefest outline of his argument. Paul suggests that when Christians come together to worship, they worship in the presence of angels "For this cause ought the woman to have a sign of authority on her head, because of the angels 'I Cor.11:10'. For this understanding of 1 Cor.11:10 see J. A. Fitzmyer: "We are invited by the evidence from Qumran to understand that the unveiled head of a woman is like a bodily defect which should be excluded from such an assembly, 'because holy angels are present in the congregation'", from 'Qumran Angelology and 1 Cor.11:20', in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (1971), p. 200.
23. See J. Strugnell, *The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran* (1960). For a comparative study of this phenomenon with the Fourth Gospel see D. E. Aune, *Cultic Setting*, Chapters 1 and 2 dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel respectively.
24. Following the translation by G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, second edition (1975), p. 211. Subsequent quotations from the Dead Sea Scrolls also follow his translations.
25. See B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and The New Testament* (1965).
26. *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 206. He thus interprets the Hodayoth in the same way as he interprets the Messianic Psalms of the Old Testament.
27. See J. H. Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism of IQS 3.13-4,26 and the "Dualism" contained in the Gospel of John' in *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1972), pp. 76-106; compare L. Morris, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and St. John's Gospel' in *Studies in the Fourth Gospel* (1969), pp. 321-358.
28. Note the division that Paul caused among the Sadducees and the Pharisees, according to Acts. He spoke to them of the

resurrection of the dead, "some of the scribes of the Pharisees' part stood up, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man: and what if a spirit hath spoken to him, or an angel?" (Acts 23:9). Compare also the claims to mystical ascents by Paul, ben Zakkai, Akiba etc. all of which have the intention of asserting the authority of the teachers. See pages 194-199.

29. On Galilaean piety see G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (1973), pp. 42-82, and A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety from 70 BC to 70 CE* (1922)
30. Contrast the distinction the Evangelist makes between the multitude and the Jews elsewhere in the Gospel between the of Jerusalem and the festival crowd which included many Galilaean. For this distinction see particularly Jn.7:12 and v.25.
31. Compare C. K. Barrett who argues that the main source behind the Johannine Son of man is the Synoptic tradition. He shows this by concentrating on an exegesis of Jn.6:53, in his essay 'The Flesh of the Son of Man' John 6.53' in *Essays on John* (1982), pp. 37-49



## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 5

1. In Jn.8:12-20 Jesus was speaking with the Pharisees in the treasury of the temple at Jerusalem. In Jn.8:20ff it is the Jews who reply to Jesus' words. The Pharisees are not mentioned throughout the rest of the chapter, even though v.21 itself implies that Jesus addressed his statement concerning his departure to them.
2. The Jews in Jn.8:31ff are like Judas who betrays Jesus, they too are of the devil (see Jn.6:70;13:2 and compare Jn.8:44).
3. *The Fourth Gospel*, first edition, Vol. 2 (1942) pp. 385, 386. (See also second edition revised (1947) p. 337).
4. For evidence that this accusation was part of the early church's kerygma according to the Gospels and Acts see C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Development* (1936).
5. See D. Daube 'The 'I am' of the Messianic Presence' in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (1956) pp. 325-329.
6. See H. H. Rowley, 'The Unity of the Book of Daniel' in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays* (1952) pp. 235-68, and P. M. Casey, *Son of Man* (1979), pp. 7-50
7. In *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* (1967) pp. 43, 44.
8. C. K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* (1967) p. 44. See also M. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (1967)
9. *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* (1967) pp. 44, 45.
10. In some ways these 'believing' Jews resemble the Judaizers within the Pauline Churches. However, they are not to be identified with them. See J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (E.T. 1959) pp. 87-134 and pp. 210-246; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism* (E.T. 1975), pp. 40-76, and 'Jews and Judaizers in the Epistles of Ignatius' in *Essays on John* (1982), pp. 133-158.
11. See pages 172-174.
12. See Mk.14:21 para.
13. Compare ὑψωθῶ here with ὑψωθῆναι in Jn.3:14.
14. Note that in the verse immediately following, Jesus speaks of his departure!
15. Compare the angel who attends to Jesus according to Luke's Gethsemane account, and also compare the bath qol at Jesus'



baptism according to the Synoptic Gospels. In both cases the intention of the presence of the angel, and of the giving of the bath qol was to encourage Jesus (compare Jn.1:32,33).

16. Note the tenses applied to the Father's name in Jn.12:28 "...I have both glorified it and will glorify it again..." and compare Jesus' words to the Father concerning his disciples in Jn.17:26, "I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known".
17. See pages 241-242.
18. R. Schnackenburg, *Commentary*, Vol.2, p. 224. However, C. K. Barrett and B. Lindars deny that Jn.8:58 alludes to Exod.3:14. See their commentaries *ad loc.*
19. Compare ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα (Jn.12:23) with νῦν ἐδοξάσθη (Jn.13:31).
20. For a sample of the variety of explanations that are given see A. Schweitzer, *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*, (1930) p. 355; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, third edition (E.T. 1966) p. 136 and O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship* (1953) pp. 105-110. In addition to the commentaries all are agreed that the Fourth Evangelist knew the gospel tradition concerning the institution of the eucharist.
21. See Jn.14:15,21,23,24;15:7,10.
22. See also I Jn.4:7,11,12,21.
23. See I Jn.2:1,12,28;3:7,18;4:4;5:21.
24. Compare I Jn.2:6.
25. Note that the Galilaean Jews are warned by Jesus "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves" and this was the "hard saying" that caused many of Jesus' disciples to stop following him (Jn.6:53,60,66).
26. See pages 224-244.
27. The Septuagint reads Ἰδετε ἴδετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.
28. R. Schnackenburg, *Commentary*, Vol. 2, p. 84.
29. See C. K. Barrett, *Commentary*, p. 342.
30. Note how the revelatory formula 'I am' is linked with the moment of betrayal in the same way that the glorification of the Son of man is linked with the moment of betrayal in Jn.13:30,31. Compare the use of both expressions: "Son of

man" and "I am" in Jn.8:28 where the Jews are held responsible for the "lifting up" of the Son of man.

31. The charge by the Jews in Jn.5:18 that Jesus is "making himself equal with God" fits the teaching of the two powers heretics better than the charge by the Jews in Jn.10:33 which implies an identity with God. They said to Jesus "thou, being a man, makest thyself God".
32. We cannot identify the Johannine community with the two powers heretics because the rabbinic evidence is of a slightly later date, although it shows evidence of a much earlier conflict, especially in the light of some apocalyptic writings. However, the Fourth Gospel does appear to contain sufficient similarities with apocalyptic and rabbinic material to suggest an embryonic form of the heresy.
33. On the significance of this passage for the argument in Jn.5:19ff. See pages 234-237. Note especially that in Jn.5 the power over death and life is also given to Jesus as the Son of man.
34. The emphases are mine.
35. See E. Stauffer, *Jesus Gestalt und Geschichte* (1957) pp. 130-146 and D. Daube, 'The "I am" of the Messianic Presence' in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (1956) pp. 325-329.
36. Note that this time the comment reads "the messenger". D. Daube agrees with I. Abrahams that this arose in the dispute with Christianity. See D. Daube, pp. 326-7.
37. D. Daube, p. 327.

## FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER 6

1. Following the RV mg., and the RSV, and NEB texts. Some manuscripts read "Son of God" instead of "Son of man". The latter is the more difficult reading found in P<sup>44</sup> and P<sup>75</sup>  $\Lambda$  B DW<sup>pcsy</sup>co which I am following here.
2. For this view see particularly J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979).
3. See R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, second edition, (E.T. 1968) pp. 209-215 and J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979) pp. 24,25.
4. See pages 163-164.
5. See for example Nedarim 14a,20a.
6. Compare the vision of the Son of man given to Stephen in the hour of his martyrdom, Acts 7:56ff.
7. We saw that the reference to the 'lifting up' of the Son of man suggested that these 'believing' Jews belong to the *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine community.
8. Compare also Jn.5:15,16. See J. L. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition (1979), pp. 68-73



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- ALAND, K. and NESTLE, E., (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26th edition, revised (Stuttgart, 1981)
- ALAND, K., (ed.), *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, tenth edition, (Stuttgart, 1978)
- BLACKMAN, P., *Mishnayoth*, 7 Vols., (London, 1951-1956)
- BOGAERT, P., *Apocalypse de Baruch*, introduction, traduction du Syriac et commentaire, (Paris, 1969)
- BOX, G. H., and LANDSMAN, J. I., *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, (London, 1919)
- BOX, G. H., *The Ezra-Apocalypse, being chapters 3-14 of the Book commonly known as 4 Ezra (or II Esdras)*, (London, 1912)
- BRAUDE, W. G., (trans.) *Pesikta Rabbati*, 2 Vols., (New Haven, 1969)
- CHARLES, R. H., *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch in Anecdota Oxoniensia*, (Oxford, 1906)
- CHARLES, R. H., 'The Book of Enoch' in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2, (Oxford, 1913), pp. 163-281
- CHARLES, R. H., (ed.) *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1913, reprinted 1969)
- CHARLES, R. H., *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs together with the variants of the Armenian and Slavonic versions* (Oxford, 1908)
- CHARLES, R. H., *The Apocalypse of Baruch Translated from the Syriac*, (London, 1896)
- CHARLESWORTH, J. H., (ed. and trans.), *The Odes of Solomon*, (Oxford, 1973)
- CHARLESWORTH, J. H., (ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, (London, 1983)
- COHEN, A., (ed.), *The Minor Tractates of the Talmud*, 2 Vols., (London, 1965)
- COLSON, F. H., *Philo*, text and translation with G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classical Library, 10 Vols., (London, New York, 1932)
- DANBY, H., *The Mishnah*, (Oxford, 1933)

*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*, 7 Vols., (Various eds.), (Oxford, 1955-1982)

EPSTEIN, I., (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, Soncino edition, 35 Vols., (London, 1935-1952), reprinted 18 Vols. (1961)

ETHERIDGE, J. W., (ed. and trans.), *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum*, 2 Vols., (1862 and 1865), reprinted in one volume (New York, 1968)

FOERSTER, W., *Gnosis*, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1972, 1974)

FREEDMAN, H. and SIMON, M., (ed. and trans.), *Midrash Rabbah*, Soncino edition, 10 Vols., (London, 1939)

GUILLAUMONT, A. and PUECH, H.-C., *The Gospel According to Thomas*, (Leiden and London, 1959)

HARRIS, J. R. and MINGANA, A., (eds. and trans.), *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 2 Vols., (1916-1920)

HENNECKE, E. and SCHNEEMELCHER, W. (eds.), Eng. trans. edited by R. McL. Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 Vols., (London, 1963, 1965, reprinted 1973, 1974)

HOROWITZ, H. S. and ROBIN, I. A., (eds.), *Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael*, (Frankfurt, 1931)

HOROWITZ, H. S. and ROBIN, I. A., (eds.), *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, (Berlin, 1939)

ISAAC, E., 'I (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch', trans. and intro. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1983), pp. 5-89

JONGE, M. de, (ed.), *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, with H. W. Hollander, H. J. de Jonge and Th. Korteweg, *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* series 1.2, (Leiden, 1978)

KEE, H. C., 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', trans and intro. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, (1983), pp. 775-828

KITTEL, R., (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica*, 9th edition, (Stuttgart, 1954)

KITTEL, R., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, (Stuttgart, 1968-77)

- KLIJN, A. F. J., '2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch, trans. and intro. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1983), pp. 615-652
- KNIBB, M. A., *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1978)
- LAKE, K., (ed.) *The Apostolic Fathers*, text and translation, Loeb Classical Library, (London, New York, 1912, 1913)
- LAUTERBACH, J. Z. (ed. and trans.), *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, 3 Vols., (Philadelphia, 1933-35), reprinted as paperback (1976)
- LIGHTFOOT, J. B., (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, 5 Vols., (London, 1885-90)
- MACHO, Diez A., (ed. and trans.), *Neophyti I Targum Paelstinense Ms. De la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas), English trans. by M. McNamara with M. Maker, 5 Vols., (1968-1978)
- MAYER, G., *Index Philoneus*, (Berlin, 1974)
- METZGER, B. M., 'The Fourth Book of Ezra', trans. and intro. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1983), pp. 517-559
- MILIK, J. T., *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, (Oxford, 1976)
- MONTEFIORE, C. G. and LOEWE, H., *A Rabbinic Anthology*, (London, 1938)
- MYERS, J. M., *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Anchor Bible series, (New York, 1974)
- PREUSCHEN, E., *Der Johanneskommentar*, Origenes Werke Vol. 4, (Leipzig, 1903)
- RAHLFS, A. (ed.), *Septuaginta*, 2 Vols., (Stuttgart, 1935)
- ROBINSON, J. M., (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, (Leiden, 1977)
- RUBINKIEWICZ, R., 'Apocalypse of Abraham', trans. and intro. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1983)
- RYLE, H. E., *The Psalms of Solomon*, edited and translated by H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, (Cambridge, 1891)



- SCHWAB, M., *Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, 9 Vols., (Paris, 1871-89), reprinted in 6 Vols. (1960) with *Introductions et tables générales*
- SPERBER, A., (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic*, 5 Vols., (Leiden, 1959-73)
- STRUGNELL, J., *The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran*, SVT 7 (1960), pp. 318-345
- SWETE, H. B., *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, 3 Vols., (Cambridge, 1925)
- THACKERAY, H. St. J., and MARCUS, R. (eds.), *Josephus*, text and translation, Loeb Classical Library, (London, New York, 1926-43)
- VERMES, G., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, second edition, (Middlesex, 1975)
- VIDLET, B., *Die Esra-Apokalypse*, 2 Vols., (Leipzig, 1910, 1924)
- ZUCKERMANDEL, M. S., *Tosephta* with supplement by S. Liebermann, (Jerusalem, 1937)

### Secondary Sources

- ABELSON, J., *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, (London, 1912)
- ABELSON, J., *Jewish Mysticism*, (London, 1913)
- ABOTT, E. A., *Johannine Vocabulary, A Comparison of the Words of the Fourth Gospel with those of the three, Series Diatessarica, Part V*, (London, 1905)
- ABOTT, E. A., *Johannine Grammar, Series Diatessarica, Part IV*, (London, 1906)
- ALBRIGHT, W. F., 'Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John', in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube, (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 153-71
- ALEXANDER, P. S., 'The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch', *JJS* 28 (1977), pp. 156-180
- ALEXANDER, P. S., Introduction and translation of 3 Enoch in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London, 1983), pp. 223-315
- AUERBACH, E., *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, (E.T., Princeton, 1953)
- AUNE, D. E., 'The Cultic Setting of Realised Eschatology in Early Christianity', *SNT* 28 (1972)
- AUNE, D. E., 'The Genre of the Gospels' in *Gospel Perspectives: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, edited by R. T. France and D. Wenham, Vol. 2, (Sheffield, 1981), pp. 9-60
- BAILEY, J. A., *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, (Leiden, 1963)
- BAKKER, A., 'Christ an Angel?', *ZNW* 32 (1933), pp. 255-65
- BAMMEL, E., 'John did no miracle: John 10:41' in *Miracles*, edited by C. F. D. Moule, (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 179-202
- BARR, J., 'Jewish Apocalyptic in Recent Scholarly Study', *BJRL* 58 (1975-76), pp. 9-35
- BARRETT, C. K., 'Unsolved New Testament Problems - The place of eschatology in the Fourth Gospel', *Exp.T.* 59 (1947-8), pp. 302ff.

- BARRETT, C. K., 'The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel', *JTS* n.s.1 (1950), pp. 1-15
- BARRETT, C. K., 'The Theological Vocabulary of the Fourth Gospel and of the Gospel of Truth' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, (New York, London, 1962), pp. 210-23
- BARRETT, C. K., 'Stephen and the Son of Man' in *Apophoreta*, edited by W. Eltester, (Berlin, 1964), pp. 32-38
- BARRETT, C. K., *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition*, (London, 1967)
- BARRETT, C. K., 'The Prologue of St. John's Gospel' in *New Testament Essays*, (1972), pp. 27-48
- BARRETT, C. K., 'John and the Synoptic Gospels', *Exp.T.* 85 (1974), pp. 228-233
- BARRETT, C. K., *The Gospel of John and Judaism*, (E.T., London, 1975)
- BARRETT, C. K., *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2nd edition (London, 1978)
- BARRETT, C. K., '"The Flesh of the Son of Man" John 6:53' in *Essays on John*, (London, 1982), pp. 37-49
- BARRETT, C. K., 'Gnosis and the Apocalypse of John' in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, edited by A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn, (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 125-137
- BAUER, W., *Das Johannesevangelium*, third edition, (Tübingen, 1933)
- BAUER, W., *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, (E.T., London, 1972)
- BAUER, W., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, (E.T., Chicago, 1979)
- BEARDSLEE, W. A., 'New Testament Apocalyptic in Recent Interpretation', *Interpretation* 25 (1971), pp. 419-435
- BECKER, J., 'Wunder und Christologie: zum literarkritischen und christologischen Problem der Wunder im Johannesevangelium', *NTS* 16 (1969-70), pp. 130-148
- BECKER, J., 'Beobachtungen zum Dualismus im Johannesevangelium', *ZNW* 65 (1974), pp. 71-87
- BENTZEN, A., *King and Messiah*, (E.T., London, 1955)



- BERGER, K., *Die Amen-Worte Jesu: Eine Untersuchung der Legitimation in Apokalyptischen Rede*, BZNH 39, (Berlin, 1970)
- BERGER, K., 'Zur Geschichte der Einleitungsformel "Amen, ich sage euch"', ZNW 63 (1972), pp. 45-75
- BERNARD, J. H., *The Gospel According to St. John*, ICC, 2 Vols., (Edinburgh, 1928)
- BERTZ, O., *What do we know about Jesus?* (E.T., London, 1968)
- BIANCHI, U., *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio De Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, edited by U. Bianchi, (Leiden, 1967)
- BLACK, M., *The Son of Man in Recent Research and Debate*, BJRL 45 (1962-3), pp. 305-318
- BLACK, M., *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition, (Oxford, 1967)
- BLACK, M., 'The "Son of Man" Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition', ZNW 60 (1969), pp. 1-8
- BLACK, M., 'The Christological use of the Old Testament in the New Testament', NTS 18 (1971-72), pp. 1-14
- BLACK, M., 'Jesus and the Son of Man', JSNT 1 (1978), pp. 4-18
- BLASS, F., ed. with A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, edited and translated by R. W. Funk, (E.T., Cambridge, 1961)
- BOISMARD, M.-E., *Du Baptême à Cana (Jean 1,19-2,11)*, (Paris, 1956)
- BOISMARD, M.-E., 'Les citations targumiques dans le quatrième Évangile', RB 66 (1959), pp. 374-378
- BOISMARD, M.-E., 'L'évolution du thème eschatologique dans les traditions johanniques', RB 68 (1961), pp. 507-524
- BOISMARD, M.-E., 'Les traditions johanniques concernant le Baptiste', RB 70 (1963), pp. 5-42
- BORGEN, P., 'Bread from Heaven. An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo', SNT 10, (Leiden, 1965)
- BORGEN, P., 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel', in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (Leiden, 1968), pp. 137-148.
- BORGEN, P., 'Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John', NTS 16 (1969-70), pp. 288-95

BORGEN, P., 'Logos was the True Light', *SN7* 14 (1972), pp. 115-30

BORGEN, P., 'Some Jewish Exegetical Traditions as Background for Son of Man sayings in John's Gospel (Jn.3,13-14 and context)', in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge, (Leuven, 1977), pp. 243-258

BORNKAMM, G., 'Die eucharistische Rede im Johannesevangelium', *ZNW* 47 (1956), pp. 161-169

BORNKAMM, G., *Jesus of Nazareth*, (E.T., London, 1960)

BORSCH, F. H., *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, (London, 1967)

BOWKER, J. W., 'The Origin and Purpose of St. John's Gospel', *NTS* 11 (1964-65), pp. 398-408

BOWKER, J. W., '"Merkabah" Visions and the Visions of Paul', *JSS* 16 (1971), pp. 157-173

BOWKER, J. W., *Jesus and the Pharisees*, (Cambridge, 1973)

BOWKER, J. W., 'The Son of Man', *JTS* 28 (1977), pp. 19-48

BOWMAN, J., 'Samaritan Studies', *BJRL* 40 (1958), pp. 298-327

BRAUN, F.-M., *Jean le Théologien*, *Etudes Bibliques*, 3 Vols., (Paris, 1959-68)

BROWN, R. E., 'Incidents that are units in the Synoptic Gospels but are dispersed in St. John', *CBQ* 23 (1961), pp. 143-60

BROWN, R. E., *The Gospel according to John*, Anchor Bible series, 2 Vols. (New York, London, 1971)

BROWN, R. E., 'Johannine Ecclesiology - The Community's Origins', *Interpretation* 31 (1977), pp. 379-393

BROWN, R. E., *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, (London, 1979)

BRUCE, F. F., *The Acts of the Apostles*, (London, 1951)

- BÜCHLER, A., *Das galiläische "Am-ha Ares" des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, (Vienna, 1906)
- BÜCHLER, A., *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety from 70 BCE to 70 CE*, Jews College Publication No. 8, (London, 1922)
- BÜCHLER, A., *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, Jews College Publication No. 11, (London, 1928)
- BÜHNER, J. A., *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium*, (Tübingen, 1977)
- BULTMANN, R., 'Die Bedeutung der neu<sup>e</sup>erschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums', *ZNW* 24 (1925), pp. 100-146
- BULTMANN, R., *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 Vols., (E.T., London, 1952 and 1955)
- BULTMANN, R., 'New Testament and Mythology' in *Kerygma and Myth*, edited by H.-W. Bartsch, (E.T., London, 1953), pp. 1-44
- BULTMANN, R., *Jesus and the Word*, (E.T., London, 1935, new edition New York, 1958)
- BULTMANN, R., *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, second edition, (Oxford, 1968)
- BULTMANN, R., *The Gospel of John; a Commentary*, (E.T., Oxford, 1971)
- BURNEY, C. F., *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, (Oxford, 1922)
- CADMAN, W. H., *The Open Heaven: the Revelation of God in the Johannine Sayings of Jesus*, (Oxford, 1969)
- CAIRD, G. B., *The Revelation of Saint John the Divine*, (London, 1966)
- CAIRD, G. B., 'The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel: an Exercise in Biblical Semantics', *NTS* 15 (1968-9), pp. 265-77
- CAMPBELL, J. Y., 'The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man', *JTS* 48 (1947), pp. 145-55
- CAMPENHAUSEN, H., Frhr., 'Das Bekenntnis in Urchristentum', *ZNW* 63 (1972), pp. 210-253
- CARSON, D. A., 'Current Source Criticism of the Fourth Gospel: Some Methodological Questions', *JBL* 97 (1978), pp. 411-429



- CARSON, D. A., 'Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel: After Dodd, What?', in *Gospel Perspectives: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, Vol. 2 (Sheffield, 1981), pp. 83-145
- CASEY, P. M., *The Son of Man: the Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*, (London, 1979)
- CHARLES, R. H., *The Revelation of St. John*, ICC, (Edinburgh, 1926) (Edinburgh, 1926)
- CHARLES, R. H., *The Book of Daniel*, ICC, (Edinburgh, 1929)
- CHARLES, R. H., art. 'Eschatology' in *Enc.Bib.*, Vol. 2, cols. 1335-1390
- CHARLESWORTH, J. H., (ed.) *John and Qumran*, (London, 1972)
- CHARLESWORTH, J. H., 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism of IQS 3.13-4,26 and the "Dualism" contained in the Gospel of John' in *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, (London, 1972), pp. 76-106
- CHARLESWORTH, J. H., *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, assisted by P. Dykers, Society of Biblical Literature, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 7 (New York, 1976)
- CHILDS, B. S., *Exodus*, Old Testament Library Series, (London, 1974)
- CHILTON, B. D., 'The Transfiguration: Dominical Assurance and Apocalyptic Vision', *NTS* 27 (1980), pp. 115-124
- CLARKE, E. G., 'Jacob's dream at Bethel as interpreted in the Targums and the New Testament', *Studies in Religion*, 4 (1974-5), pp. 367-77
- COLLINS, J. J., 'The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 50-66
- COLLINS, J. J., 'The Court Tales in Daniel on the Development of Apocalyptic', *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 218-234
- COLLINS, R. F., *Introduction to the New Testament*, (London, 1983)
- COLPE, C., 'ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου' in *TDNT*, Vol. 8, pp. 400-477
- COLPE, C., 'Die "Himmelsreise der Seele" ausserhalb und innerhalb der Gnosis' in *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo; Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, edited by U. Bianchi, (Leiden, 1967), pp. 429-447
- COLPE, C., 'New Testament and Gnostic Christology' in *Religions in*

- Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (Leiden, 1968)
- CONZELMANN, H., *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, (E.T., London, 1969)
- COPPENS, J., 'La Vision daniélique du Fils de l'Homme', *VT* 19(1959), pp. 171-82
- CRANFIELD, C. E. B., *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, (Cambridge, 1959)
- CRIBBS, F. L., 'A Reassessment of the Date of Origin and the Destination of the Gospel of John', *JBL* 89 (1970), pp. 38-55
- CRIBBS, F. L., 'St. Luke and the Johannine Tradition', *JBL* 90 (1971), pp. 422-450
- CROSS, F. L., (ed.) *The Jung Codex*, (London, 1955)
- CULLMANN, O., *Early Christian Worship*, SBT 10 (E.T. London, 1953)
- CULLMANN, O., 'L'opposition contre le Temple de Jérusalem, motif Commun de la théologie Johannique et du Monde Ambiant', *NTS* 5 (1958-59), pp. 157-73
- CULLMANN, O., *Christ and Time*, second edition (E.T., Philadelphia, 1962)
- CULLMANN, O., *The Christology of the New Testament*, second edition, (E.T., London, 1963)
- CULLMANN, O., *The Johannine Circle*, (E.T., London, 1976)
- CULPEPPER, R. A., *The Johannine School: An Evaluation of the Johannine School Hypothesis Based on an Investigation of the Nature of Ancient Schools*, (Missoula, 1975)
- DAHL, N. A., 'Christ, Creation and Church' in *Background to the New Testament and Eschatology*, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube, (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 422-443
- DAHL, N. A., 'The Johannine Church and History' in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, edited by W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, (New York, 1962), pp. 124-142
- DAHL, N. A., and SEGAL, A. F., 'Philo and the Rabbis on the Names of God', *JSJ* 9(1978), pp. 1-28
- DANIELOU, J., *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, (London, Philadelphia, 1964)
- DAUBE, D., *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, (London, 1956)

- DAUBE, D., 'He that Cometh', pamphlet of a lecture given at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, October 1966
- DAVIES, W. D., *Christian Origins and Judaism*, (London, 1962)
- DAVIES, W. D., (ed.) *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, with D. Daube, (Cambridge, 1964)
- DAVIES, W. D., *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, (Cambridge, 1966)
- DAVIES, W. D., *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, third edition, (London, 1970)
- DAVIES, W. D., *The Gospel and the Land*, (Cambridge, 1974)
- DÉAUT, R. Le, *La Nuit Pascale*, (Rome, 1963)
- DÉAUT, R. Le, 'Une aggadah targumique et les murmures de Jean 6', *Biblica* 51 (1970), pp. 80-83
- DÉAUT, R. Le, 'Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation', *BTB* 4 (1974), pp. 243-289
- DEEKS, D., 'The Structure of the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 15 (1968), pp. 107-129
- DODD, C. H., *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, (London, 1936)
- DODD, C. H., *According to the Scriptures*, (London, 1952)
- DODD, C. H., *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, (Cambridge, 1953)
- DODD, C. H., *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, (Cambridge, 1963)
- DUNN, J. D. G., 'John vi - a Eucharistic Discourse?', *NTS* 17 (1970-71), pp. 328-338
- DUNN, J. D. G., *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, (London, 1977)
- DUNN, J. D. G., *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, (London, 1980)
- DUPONT-SOMMER, A., *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, (E.T., 1954, pp. 38-57)



- EHRHARDT, A., 'The Birth of the Synagogue and R. Akiba' in *The Framework of the New Testament Stories*, (Manchester, 1964), pp. 103-131
- EICHRODT, W., *Ezekiel*, Old Testament Library Series, (E.T. London, 1970)
- EMERTON, J. A., 'The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery', *JTS*, (n.s.) 9, (1958), pp. 225-42
- ENSLIN, M. S., 'The Perfect Tense in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 55 (1959), pp. 121-131
- ENZ, J. J., 'The Book of Exodus as a Literary Type for the Gospel of John', *JBL* 76 (1957), pp. 208-215
- FEUILLET, A., 'Le Fils de l'Homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique', in *RB* 60 (1953), pp. 170-202
- FINKELSTEIN, L., *Akiba: Scholar, Saint and Martyr*, (New York, 1962)
- FINKELSTEIN, L., *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith*, 2 Vols., third edition, (Philadelphia, 1962)
- FIORENZA, E. S., 'The Quest for the Johannine School: the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 23 (1977), pp. 402-427
- FISCHEL, H. A., 'Jewish Gnosticism in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 65 (1946), pp. 157-174
- FITZMYER, J. A., *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, (London, 1971)
- FOAKES-JACKSON, F. J., and K. Lake, (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles*, 5 Vols., (London, 1920-33)
- FORESTELL, J. T., The Word of the Cross: Salvation as revelation in the Fourth Gospel, (Rome, 1974)
- FORTNA, R. T., *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source underlying the Fourth Gospel*, *SNTS Monograph Series II*, (Cambridge, 1970)
- FORTNA, R. T., 'Source and Redaction in the Fourth Gospel's Portrayal of Jesus' Signs', *JBL* 89 (1970), pp. 151-66
- FREED, E. D., 'Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John', *SNT* 11 (Leiden, 1965)
- FREED, E. D., 'The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 86 (1967), pp. 402-9

- FREEDMAN, H., art. 'Akiva' in *Enc.Jud.*, Vol. 1, (1972),  
Cols. 488-492
- FREYNE, S., *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.*, (Delaware, 1980)
- FREYNE, S., 'The Galilaeans in the light of Josephus' Vita', *NTS* 26 (1980), pp. 397-413
- FROST, S. B., *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, (London, 1952)
- FULLER, R. H., *Interpreting the Miracles*, (London, 1963)
- FULLER, R. H., *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, (London, 1965)
- GARDNER-SMITH, P., *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels*, (Cambridge, 1938)
- GÄRTNER, B., *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, SNTS Monograph Series, (Cambridge, 1965)
- GÄRTNER, B., 'The Pauline and Johannine Idea of "To know God" against the Hellenistic Background', *NTS* 14 (1968), pp. 209-231
- GERHARDSSON, B., *Memory and Manuscript*, (E.T., Uppsala, 1961)
- GINZBERG, Louis, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 Vols., (Philadelphia, 1909)
- GLASSON, T. F., *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, SBT 40 (London, 1963)
- GLASSON, T. F., *The Second Advent*, (London, 1963)
- GLASSON, T. F., 'The Son of Man Imagery: Enoch XIV and Daniel 7', *NTS* 23 (1977), pp. 82-90
- GLASSON, T. F., 'What is Apocalyptic?', *NTS* 27 (1980) pp. 98-105
- GOGUEL, M., *Au seuil de l'évangile: Jean Baptiste*, (Paris, 1928)
- GOPPELT, L., *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, (E.T., London, 1970)
- GOODENOUGH, E. R., *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 12 Vols., (New York, 1953-65)
- GRANT, R. M., *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, (Colombia, 1964)
- GREENFIELD, J., Prolegomenon in the reprint of *III Enoch or the*

- Hebrew book of Enoch*, edited by H. Odeberg, (Cambridge, 1928, reprinted New York, 1963)
- GRUENWALD, I., 'Knowledge and Vision: towards a clarification of two "gnostic" concepts in the light of their alleged origins' in *JOS* 3 (1973), pp. 63-107
- GRUENWALD, I., *Apocalypticism and Merkava Mysticism*, (Leiden, 1979)
- GRUNDMANN, W., art. 'ἐκτ' in *TDNT* Vol. 2, pp. 21-25
- GUILDING, A., *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship*, (Oxford, 1960)
- GUNTHER, J. J., *St. Paul's Opponents and their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teaching*, (Leiden, 1973)
- GUTBROD, W., art. 'Ἰουδαϊσμός' in *TDNT* Vol. 3, pp. 378-381
- GUY, H. A., *The New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things*, (London, 1948)
- HAENCHEN, E., *The Acts of the Apostles*, (E.T., London, 1971)
- HAENCHEN, E., *Johannes Evangelium: Ein Kommentar*, edited by U. Basse, (Tübingen, 1980)
- HAHN, F., *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, (E.T., London, 1969)
- HAMERTON-KELLY, R. G., *Pre-existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man*, *SNTS* 21, (Cambridge, 1973)
- HANSON, P. D., *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 2nd edition, (Philadelphia, 1979)
- HANSON, A. T., 'The Theme of Christ as the True Temple in the Fourth Gospel' in *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture*, (London, 1980), pp. 110-121
- HARRIS, R., *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 2 Vols., eds. R. Harris and A. Mingana, Vol. I Text. Vol. II. Trans. and Notes, (Manchester, 1916)
- HARVEY, A. E., *Jesus on Trial*, (London, 1976)
- HENDERSON, I., *Myth in the New Testament*, *SBT* 7, (London, 1952)
- HENGEL, M., 'Nachfolge und Charisma', *BZNH* 57 (1966), pp. 145-83
- HENGEL, M., 'Die Ursprünge der christlichen Mission', *NTS* 18 (1971-72), pp. 15-38



- HENGEL, M., *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 Vols., (E.T., London, 1974)
- HENGEL, M., *The Son of God*, (E.T., London, 1976)
- HENGEL, M., *Die Zeloten*, second edition, (Leiden, 1976)
- HENGEL, M., *Victory over Violence*, (E.T., London, 1975)
- HENNECKE, E., (ed.) *New Testament Apocrypha*, with W. Schneemelcher. E.T. trans. ed. by R. McL. Wilson, 2 Vols., (E.T., London, 1963-5)
- HIGGINS, A. J. B., *Jesus and the Son of Man*, (London, 1964)
- HIGGINS, A. J. B., *The Son of Man in the Teaching of Jesus*, (London, 1980)
- HINDLEY, J. C., 'Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: an Historical Approach', *NTS* 14 (1967-68), pp. 551-565
- HOLST, R., 'The One Anointing of Jesus: Another Application of the Form Critical Method', *JBL* 95 (1976), pp. 435-46
- HOOKE, M. D., *Jesus<sup>and</sup> the Servant*, (London, 1959)
- HOOKE, M. D., *The Son of Man in Mark*, (London, 1967)
- HOOKE, M. D., 'The Johannine Prologue and the Messianic Secret', *NTS* 21 (1974-75), pp. 40-58
- HOSKYN, E. C., *The Fourth Gospel*, edited by F. N. Davey, second edition, (London, 1947, 1st Ed. 2 Vols., 1942)
- HOWARD, W. F., *Christianity according to St. John*, (London, 1943)
- HOWARD, W. F., *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, revised edition by C. K. Barrett, (1955)
- HUCK, A., (ed.) *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*, revised by H. Lietzmann. English edition by F. L. Cross, (Oxford, 1959)
- JASTROW, M., *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bqbli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, (1903, reprinted New York, 1971)
- JEREMIAS, J., *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, SBT 24, London, 1958)
- JEREMIAS, J., *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, third edition, (E.T., London, 1966)

- JEREMIAS, J., *The Rediscovery of Bethesda*, (Philadelphia, 1966)
- JEREMIAS, J., *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, (E.T., London, 1969)
- JEREMIAS, J., *New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1, (E.T., London, 1971)
- JEREMIAS, J., 'Zum nicht-respons<sup>o</sup>rischen Amen', *ZNW* 64 (1973), pp. 122, 123
- JOHNSTON, G., *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John*, SNTS Monograph series 12, (Cambridge, 1970)
- JONGE, M. de, 'IIQ Melchizedek and the New Testament', (jointly with A. S. van der Woude), *NTS* 12 (1965-6), pp. 301-26
- JONGE, M. de, 'Nicodemus and Jesus: some observations on Misunderstanding and Understanding in the Fourth Gospel', *BJRL* 53 (1970), pp. 337-359
- JONGE, M. de, 'Jewish Expectations about the "Messiah" according to the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 19 (1972-73), pp. 248-70
- JONGE, M. de, (ed.) 'Christian Influence in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs' in *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, (1975), pp. 193-246
- JONGE, M. de, *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven*, (New York, 1977)
- JONGE, M. de, (ed.) *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, redaction, théologie*, (Leuven, 1977)
- KAISER, O., *Isaiah, 1-12*, Old Testament Library series, (E.T. 1972)
- KÄSEMANN, E., 'The Problem of the Historical Jesus' in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, (E.T. 1964), pp. 15-47
- KÄSEMANN, E., *The Testament of Jesus*, (E.T., London, 1968)
- KÄSEMANN, E., 'Blind Alleys in the "Jesus of History" Controversy' in *New Testament Questions of Today*, (E.T., London, 1969), pp. 23-65
- KÄSEMANN, E., 'On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic', *New Testament Questions of Today*, pp. 108-137
- KÄSEMANN, E., 'The Beginnings of Christian Theology', *New Testament Questions of Today*, pp. 82-107
- KÄSEMANN, E., 'The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel' in *New Testament Questions of Today*, (E.T. 1969), pp. 138-167

- KIM, S., *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2 Reihe 4 (Tübingen, 1981)
- KLAUSNER, J., *Jesus of Nazareth*, (London, 1925)
- KLAUSNER, J., *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, (London, 1956)
- KNIBB, M. A., 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch: a critical Review', *NTS* 25 (1978-79), pp. 345-359
- KOCH, K., *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, (E.T., London, 1972)
- KRAELING, C. H., *John the Baptist*, (New York, London, 1951)
- KUHL, J., *Die Sendung Jesu und der Kirche nach dem Johannesevangelium*, Studia Institute Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini II, (St. Augustin, 1967)
- KÜMMEL, W. G., *Promise and Fulfilment*, (E.T., London, 1961)
- KÜMMEL, W. G., *Theology of the New Testament*, British edition, (E.T., 1974)
- KÜMMEL, W. G., *Introduction to the New Testament*, seventeenth edition, (E.T., London, 1975)
- KYSAR, R., *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel; An Examination of Contemporary Scholarship*, (Augsburg, 1975)
- LACOCQUE, A., *The Book of Daniel*, (E.T., London, 1979)
- LADD, G. E., *The Theology of the New Testament*, (Grand Rapids, 1974)
- LAGRANGE, M. J., *Le judaïsme avant Jésus Christ*, (Paris, 1931)
- LAGRANGE, M. J., *L'Évangile selon Saint Jean*, fifth edition, (Paris 1936)
- LEANEY, A. R. C., 'The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls' in *John and Qumran* edited by J. H. Charlesworth (1972), pp. 38-61
- LEIVESTAD, R., 'Exist the Apocalyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 18 (1972), pp. 243-67
- LENTZEN-DEIS, F., 'Das Motiv der "Himmelsöffnung" in verschiedenen Gattungen der Umweltsliteratur des NTs', *Biblica* 50 (1969), pp. 301-327
- LENTZEN-DEIS, F., *Die Taufe Jesu nach den Synoptikern*, (Frankfurt, 1970)



- LEON-DUFOUR, X., 'Trois Chiasmes Johanniques', *NTS* 7(1961), pp. 249-255
- LIGHTFOOT, J. B., (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers, 5 Vols.*, (London, 1885-90)
- LIGHTFOOT, R. H., *St. John's Gospel*, edited by C. F. Evans, (Oxford, 1956)
- LILLY, J. L., 'The Eucharistic Discourse of John 6', *CBQ* 12 (1950), pp. 48-51
- LINCOLN, A. T., *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, SNTS Monograph series 43, (Cambridge, 1981)
- LINDARS, B., *New Testament Apologetic*, (London, 1961)
- LINDARS, B., *Behind the Fourth Gospel*, (London, 1971)
- LINDARS, B., *The Gospel of John*, New Century Bible series, (London, 1972)
- LINDARS, B., 'The Son of Man in Johannine Christology', in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, edited by S. S. Smalley and B. Lindars, (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 43-60
- LINDARS, B., 'The Apocalyptic Myth and the Death of Christ', *BJRL* 57 (1974-5), pp. 366-387
- LINDARS, B., 'Word and Sacrament in the Fourth Gospel', *SJT* 29 (1976), pp. 49-63
- LINDARS, B., 'The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology: Prolegomena and Response', *NTS* 23 (1976-77), pp. 59-75
- LINDARS, B., 'Re-Enter the Apocalyptic Son of Man', *NTS* 22 (1975-76), pp. 52-72
- LINDARS, B., 'Traditions Behind the Fourth Gospel' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge (Leuven, 1977), pp. 107-124
- LINDARS, B., *Jesus Son of Man*, (London, 1983)
- LINDBLOM, J., *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, (Oxford, 1962)
- LOADER, W. R. G., 'The Central Structure of Johannine Christology', *NTS* 30 (1984), pp. 188-216
- LOHMEYER, E., *Galiläa und Jerusalem*, (Tübingen, 1936)
- LOHMEYER, E., *Kultus und Evangelium*, (Göttingen, 1942)

LOHSE, E., 'Wort und Sakrament im Johannesevangelium', *NTS* 7, (1960-61), pp. 110-125

LOISY, A., *Le Quatrième Évangile*, (Paris, 1903)

LOISY, A., *Le Mandaisme et les Origines Chrétiennes*, (Paris, 1934)

LONGNECKER, R. N., 'Some distinctive Early Christological Motifs', *NTS* 14 (1967-68)

LONGNECKER, R. N., *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity*, *SBT* 17, (London, 1970)

McNAMARA, M., with MAKER, M., *Neophyti 1 Targum Paelstinense Ms De la Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vol. 1, edited and translated by A. Diez Macho, (Madrid, Barcelona, 1968)

McNAMARA, M., *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, *Analecta Biblica*, 27, (Rome, 1966)

McNAMARA, M., *Targum and Testament*, (Shannon, 1972)

McNEILE, A. H., *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, (London, 1915)

McNEIL, B., 'The Quotation at Jn.12<sup>34</sup>', *Nov.T.* 19 (1977) pp. 22-33

MACRAE, G. W., 'Some Elements of Jewish Apocalyptic and Mystical Tradition and Their Relation to Gnostic Literature', unpublished Ph.D.dissertation, (Cambridge University, 1966)

MACRAE, G. W., 'The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth', *Nov.T.* 12 (1970)

MACRAE, G. W., 'The Ego-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources' in *The Trial of Jesus*, edited by E. Bammel, (London, 1970), pp. 122-34

MADDOX, R., 'The Function of the Son of Man according to the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 15 (1968-69), pp. 45-74

MADDOX, R., 'The Function of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John' in *Reconciliation and Hope*, edited by R. Banks, (London, 1974), pp. 186-204

MAIER, J., 'Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und Gnosis', *Kairos* 5, (1963), pp. 18-40

MALATESTA, E., *St. John's Gospel 1920-1965*, (1967)

MALINA, B. J., *The Palestinian Hanna Tradition*, (Leiden, 1968)

- MANSON, T. W., *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies in its Form and Content*, second edition, (Cambridge, 1935)
- MANSON, W., *Jesus the Messiah: the synoptic tradition of the revelation of God in Christ: with special reference to form-criticism*, (London, 1943)
- MANSON, T. W., 'Argument from Prophecy', *JTS* 46 (1945), pp. 129-136
- MANSON, T. W., *The Sayings of Jesus*, (London, 1949)
- MANSON, T. W., *The Servant-Messiah*, (Cambridge, 1953)
- MANSON, T. W., *On Paul and John*, *SBT* 38, (London, 1963)
- MARSH, J., *The Gospel of Saint John*, (Middlesex, 1968)
- MARSHALL, I. H., *The Origins of New Testament Christology, Issues in Contemporary theology*, (London, 1978)
- MARSHALL, I. H., *The Gospel of Luke, The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, (Exeter, 1978)
- MARTYN, J. L., *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, second edition, (Nashville, 1979)
- MASSAUX, E., (ed.) *La venue du Messie*, with P. Grelot, et.al., *Recherches Bibliques VI*, (Paris, 1962)
- MATSUNAGA, K., 'Is John's Gospel Anti-Sacramental? - A New Solution in the light of the Evangelist's milieu', *NTS* 27 (1981), pp. 516-24
- MEEKS, W. A., 'Galilee and Judea in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 85 (1966), pp. 159-69
- MEEKS, W. A., *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and Johannine Christology*, *SNT* 14 (Leiden, 1967)
- MEEKS, W. A., 'The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 44-72
- MENOUD, P. H., *L'Évangile de Jean d'après les recherches recentes*, second edition, (Paris, 1947)
- METZGER, B. M., *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, second edition (Oxford, 1968)
- METZGER, B. M., *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, (London, 1971)
- MICHAELIS, W., 'Joh.1,51, Gen.28,12 und das Menschensohn-Problem', *TLZ* 85 (1960), pp. 561-578



- MIRANDA, J. P., *Der Vater, der mich gesandt hat*, (Frankfurt, 1972)
- MIRANDA, J. P., *Die Sendung Jesus im vierten Evangelium*, (1977)
- MOLONEY, F. J., *The Johannine Son of Man*, (Rome, 1978)
- MOLTMANN, J., *The Crucified God*, (E.T., London, 1974)
- MONTEFIORE, H. W., 'Revolt in the Desert', *NTS* 8 (1962), pp. 135-41
- MONTEFIORE, H. W., *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, A and C Black series (London, 1964)
- MOORE, G. F., *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 3 Vols., (Cambridge, Mass., 1932)
- MORRIS, L., *Studies in the Fourth Gospel*, (Grand Rapids, 1969)
- MORRIS, L., *Apocalyptic*, (London, 1972)
- MORRIS, L., *The Gospel According to John*, New London Commentaries, (London, 1972)
- MOULE, C. F. D., 'The Influence of Circumstances on the use of Christological Terms' in *JTS* 10 (1959)
- MOULE, C. F. D., *Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, second edition, (Cambridge, 1959)
- MOULE, C. F. D., *The Birth of the New Testament*, second edition (London, 1966)
- MOULE, C. F. D., *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, (London, 1967)
- MOULE, C. F. D., 'Neglected Features in the Problem of the Son of Man' in *Neues Testament und Kirche*, ed. J. Gnllka, (Freiburg, 1974)
- MOULE, C. F. D., *The Origin of Christology*, (Cambridge, 1977)
- MOULTON, J. H., *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. I, Prolegomena, third edition, (Edinburgh, 1908, 1st edition 1906), Vol. 2 edited by W. F. Howard, (Edinburgh, 1929)
- MOWINCKEL, S., *He that Cometh*, (E.T., Oxford, 1956)
- NEIRYNCK, F., 'John and the Synoptics' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge, (1977), pp. 73-106
- NEIRYNCK, F., 'John and the Synoptics: the Empty Tomb Stories',

NTS 30(1984), pp. 161-187

NEUSNER, J., (ed.) *Relgions in Antiquity*, (Leiden, 1968)

NEUSNER, J., *A life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai*, (Leiden, 1970)

NEUSNER, J., *Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, 3 Vols., (Leiden, 1971)

NICHOLSON, G. C., '"To Your Advantage": The Lifting up of Jesus and the Descent-Ascent schema in the Fourth Gospel', unpublished D.Phil.dissertation, (Vanderbilt University, 1980 microfilm)

NOCK, A. D., 'Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background' in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, edited by A. E. J. Rawlinson, (1928), pp. 51-156

NOCK, A. D., *Arthur Darby Nock: Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, edited by Z. Stewart, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1972)

NOACK, B., *Zur johanneischen Tradition: Beiträge zur Kritik an der literarkritischen Analyse des vierten Evangeliums*, (Copenhagen, 1954)

NORTH, C. R., *The Suffering Servant in the Deutero-Isaiah*, second editions, (Oxford, 1956)

O'NEILL, J. C., *The Puzzle of 1 John: A New Examination of Origins*, (London, 1966)

O'NEILL, J. C., 'The Silence of Jesus', NTS 15 (1968-9), pp. 153-67

O'NEILL, J. C., *Messiah: Six Lectures on the Ministry of Jesus*, (The Cunningham lectures 1975-76), (Cambridge, 1980)

ODEBERG, H., *The Fourth Gospel interpreted in its relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World*, (Uppsala, 1929)

ODEBERG, H., (ed.) *3 Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch*, (Cambridge, 1928), reprinted with prolegomenon by T. Greenfield, (New York, 1973)

PANCARO, S., 'The Law in the Fourth Gospel', SNT 42, (Leiden, 1975)

PARKER, P., 'The Meaning of the Son of Man', JBL 60 (1941), pp. 151-7

PASCHAL, R. W. Jr., 'The Farewell of Jesus: a study of the Gattung

and the Religious Background of John 17', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (Cambridge University, 1982-83)

PERRIN, N., *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, (London, 1963)

PERRIN, N., *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, (London, 1967)

PERRIN, N., *What is Redaction Criticism?*, (London, 1970)

PERRIN, N., *The New Testament: An Introduction-Proclamation and Paranesis, Myth and History*, (New York, 1974)

PERRIN, N., *A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology*, (Philadelphia, 1974)

PESCH, R., (ed.) *Jesus und der Menschensohn*, with R. Schnackenburg, (Freiburg, 1975)

PHILONENKO, M., *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qumran*, (Leiden, 1960)

PORTEDUS, N., *Daniel*, Old Testament Library Series, (London, 1965)

PREISS, T., 'Justification in Johannine Thought' in *Life in Christ*, SBT 13, (London, 1954), pp. 9-31

QUISPEL, G., 'The Jung Codex and its Significance' in *The Jung Codex: A Newly recovered Gnostic Papyrus*, translated and edited by F. L. Cross, (London, 1955), pp. 35-78.

QUISPEL, G., 'Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh 1.51)', *ZNW* 47(1956), pp. 281-283

QUISPEL, G., 'Judaism, Judaic Christianity and Gnosis' in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, edited by A.H.B. Logan and A.J.M. Wedderburn, (1982), pp. 46-68

RAD, G. von, *Wisdom in Israel*, (E.T., London, 1972)

REICKE, B., 'Da'at and Gnosis in Intertestamental Literature', in *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, edited by E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, (Edinburgh, 1966), pp. 245-263

REICKE, B., 'Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *NTS* 1 (1954-5), pp. 137-141

REIM, G., *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, SNTS Monograph Series 22, (Cambridge, 1974)

REITZENSTEIN, R., *The Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic*



*Ideas and Significance*, Translated from the third edition (1926), Pittsburgh Theological Monograph series 18 by J. E. Steely, (E.T. Pittsburgh, 1978)

RENGSTORF, K. H., art. 'Ἀπόστολος', *TDNT* 1, pp. 413-20

RIESENFELD, H., *Jésus Trans figuré*, (Lund, 1947)

RIGA, P., 'Signs of Glory: The Use of "Sêmeion" in St. John's Gospel', *Interpretation* 17 (1963), pp. 402-24

RIST, M., art. 'Apocalypticism' in *IDB*, Vol. 1, (New York, 1962), pp. 157-161

ROBINSON, J. A. T., *Jesus and His Coming*, (London, 1957)

ROBINSON, J. A. T., 'Elijah, John and Jesus' in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, SBT 34, (London, 1962), pp. 28-52

ROBINSON, J. A. T., 'The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel' in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, pp. 107-25

ROBINSON, J. A. T., 'The New Look on the Fourth Gospel' in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (1962), pp. 94-106

ROBINSON, J. A. T., *Redating the New Testament*, (London, 1976)

ROBINSON, J. M., 'Recent Research in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 242-252

ROBINSON, J. M., *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, SBT 25 (London, SCM, 1959)

ROBINSON, J. M., 'Basic shifts in German Theology', *Interpretation* 16 (1962), pp. 76-97

ROLLINS, W. G., 'The New Testament and Apocalyptic', *NTS* 17 (1970-71), pp. 454-476

ROWLAND, C. C., 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature', *JSJ* 10, (1979), pp. 137-154

ROWLAND, C. C., 'The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev.1.13ff: the Debt of an early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology', *JTS* n.s.31 (1980), pp. 1-11

ROWLAND, C. C., *The Open Heaven*, (London, 1982)

ROWLEY, H. H., 'The Unity of the Book of Daniel' in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, (London, 1952), pp. 235-268

ROWLEY, H. H., *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, third edition, (London, 1963)

- RUCKSTUHL, E., 'Abstieg und Erhöhung des johanneischen Menschensohns' in *Apocalypticism*, ed. W. Funk, (1969), pp. 314-341
- RUCKSTUHL, E., 'Johannine Language and Style. The Question of Their Unity' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge, (Gembloux, 1977), pp. 125-148
- RUDOLPH, K., *Gnosis: the Nature and History of an Ancient Religion*, (E.T., Edinburgh, 1983)
- RUSSELL, D. S., *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, (London, 1964)
- SABBE, M., 'The Arrest of Jesus in Jn.18:1-11 and its Relation to the Synoptic Gospels' in *L'Évangile de Jean*, edited by M. de Jonge, (Leuven, 1977), pp. 203-234
- SALDARINI, A. J., 'Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literature', *CBQ* 37 (1975), pp. 348-358
- SALDARINI, A. J., 'The Uses of Apocalyptic in the Mishnah and Tosefta', *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 396-409
- SANDERS, J. N., *The Gospel according to Saint John*, edited by B. A. Mastin, (London, 1968)
- SANDERS, E. P., *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, (London, 1977)
- SCHLATTER, A., *Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten*, (Stuttgart, 1902)
- SCHLATTER, A., *Der Evangelist Johannes*, (Stuttgart, 1930)
- SCHMIDT, K. L., (with M. A. Schmidt), 'πρωτόν', *TDNT* V, pp. 1025-28
- SCHMIDT, K. L., *Eucharisterion: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, edited by K. L. Schmidt, (1923)
- SCHMITHALS, W., 'Der Prolog des Johannesevangeliums', *ZNH* 70 (1979), pp. 16-43
- SCHNACKENBURG, R., *The Gospel According to St. John*, 3 Vols., (E.T. 1968, 1980, 1982)
- SCHNACKENBURG, R., 'Das Johannesevangelium: Ergänzende Auslegungen und Exkurse', *Herder Theological Commentaries*, Vol. 4, (Freiburg, 1984)
- SCHOLEM, G. G., *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, third edition, (London, 1955)

- SCHOLEM, G. G., *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, (New York, 1965)
- SCHOLEM, G. G., art. 'Kabbalah' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, Vol. 10, Editor-in-chief, G. Wigoder, (Jerusalem, 1971) (Cols. 490-650)
- SCHULZ, S., *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium*, (Göttingen, 1957)
- SCHWEITZER, A., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, (E.T. New York, 1910)
- SCHWEITZER, A., *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, second edition, (E.T., London, 1956 from German 1930)
- SCHWEIZER, E., 'The Son of Man', *JBL* 79 (1960), pp. 119-29
- SCHWEIZER, E., 'The Son of Man again', *NTS* 9 (1963), pp. 256-61
- SCHWEIZER, E., 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der "Sendungsformel" Gal 4.4f. Röm 8.3f. Joh 3.16f.1 Joh 4.9', *ZNW* 57 (1966), pp. 199-210.
- SCOBIE, C. H., *John the Baptist*, (London, 1964)
- SCOTT, R. B. Y., 'Behold, He Cometh with the Clouds', *NTS* 5 (1958-59), pp. 127-132
- SEGAL, A. F., *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, (Leiden, 1977)
- SEGAL, A. F., 'Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environments' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II*, 23.2, edited by W. Haase (Berlin, 1980)
- SIDEBOTTOM, E. M., 'The Ascent and Descent of the Son of Man in the Gospel of St. John' in *ATR* 39 (1957), pp. 113-122
- SIDEBOTTOM, E. M., *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel, in the Light of First-Century Thought*, (London, 1961)
- SKINNER, J., *Genesis*, ICC, second edition, (Edinburgh, 1930)
- SMALLEY, S. S., 'The Johannine Son of Man Sayings', *NTS* 15 (1968-69), pp. 278-301
- SMALLEY, S. S. *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, (Exeter, 1978)
- SMITH, D. M., *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel*, (1965)



- SMITH, D. M., 'John and the Synoptics: Some Dimensions of the Problem', *NTS* 26(1980), pp. 425-444
- SMITH, J. Z., 'The Prayer of Joseph' in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (Leiden, 1968), pp. 253-294
- SMITH, M., 'Palestinian Judaism in the First Century' in *Israel: Its Role in Civilisation*, edited by M. Davis, (New York, 1956)
- SMITH, M., 'The Image of God and the Hellenization of Judaism', *BJRL* 40 (1958), pp. 473-512
- SMITH, M., 'Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati' in *Biblical and other Studies*, edited by A. Altman, (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 153ff.
- SMITH, M., 'The Shape of God and the Humanity of Judaism' in *Religions in Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner, (Leiden, 1968), pp. 315-326
- SMITH, R. H., 'Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 81 (1962), pp. 329ff.
- SMOTHERS, E. R., 'Two Readings in Papyrus Bodmer II', *HTR* 51 (1958), pp. 109-11
- SPEISER, E. A., *Genesis*, The Anchor Bible series, (New York, 1964)
- STAUFFER, E., 'Agnostos Christos: Joh.2.24 und die Eschatologie des Vierten Evangeliums' in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, eds. W. D. Davies and D. Daube, (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 281-99
- STAUFFER, E., *Jesus Gestalt und Geschichte*, (Bern, 1957)
- STEINMANN, J., *St. Jean-Baptiste et la spiritualité du désert*, (Paris, 1955)
- STENDAHL, K., 'The School of St. Matthew and its use of the Old Testament', (Lund, 1954)
- STONE, M., 'Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature' in *Magnalia Dei*, edited by F. M. Cross, (New York, 1976) pp. 414-452
- STRACK, H. L. and P. Billerbeck, (eds.), *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, (Munich, 1922-1928)
- TALBERT, C. H., *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical*

Gospels, (London, 1978)

TAYLOR, V., *The Names of Jesus*, (London, 1953)

TEEPLE, H. M., 'The Origin of the Son of Man Christology', *JBL* 84 (1955), pp. 216-223

THACKERAY, H. St. J., *Josephus*, 9 Vols. trans. with R. Marcus and L. H. Feldman, Loeb Classical Library edition, (London, 1926-65)

THOMAS, J., *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, (Paris, 1935)

TÖDT, H. E., *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, (E.T., London, 1965)

TROWBRIDGE, S., 'John 1:51. An Examination of the Background of a Johannine Saying and of its Purpose in the Gospel', unpublished M.Litt.dissertation, (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981).

VERMES, G., 'La Figure de Moïse au Tournant des Deux Testaments' in *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*, edited by H. Cazelles et al (Paris, 1955), pp. 63-92

VERMES, G., 'The Use of  $\text{ܐܠܗܐ}$  in Jewish Aramaic', in M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition, Appendix E (1967), pp. 310-328

VERMES, G., 'He is the bread: Targum Neofiti Exodus 16,15' in *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, edited by E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 256-263

VERMES, G., *Jesus the Jew: a Historian's Reading of the Gospels*, (London, 1973)

VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, second edition, (Leiden, 1973)

VERMES, G., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, second edition, (Middlesex, 1975)

VIELHAUER, P., Introduction to the Apocalypses and related subjects in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 2, edited by E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, (E.T., 1965), pp. 581-642

WAHLDE, U. C. von, 'The Johannine "Jews": A Critical Survey', *NTS* 28 (1982), pp. 33-60

- WERNER, M., *The Formation of Christian Dogma: An Historical Study of its Problems*, (E.T. London, 1957)
- WESTCOTT, B. F., *The Gospel according to St. John*, (London, 1908)
- WESTERMANN, K., *Isaiah 40-66*, Old Testament Library, (E.T., London, 1969)
- WILCOX, M., 'On Investigating the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament' in *Text and Interpretation*, (1979), pp. 231-43 edited by E. Best and R. McL. Wilson
- WILDER, A. N., *Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel*, (London, 1964)
- WILSON, R. McL., *The Gnostic Problem* (London, 1958)
- WILSON, R. McL., 'Gnosis, Gnosticism, and the New Testament', in *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo; Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, edited by U. Bianchi, (1967), pp. 511-527
- WILSON, R. McL., *Gnosis and the New Testament*, (Oxford, 1968)
- WINDISCH, H., 'Angelophanien um den Menschensohn auf Erden: Ein Kommentar zu Joh.1:51', *ZNW* 30 (1931), pp. 215ff
- WINDISCH, H., 'Joh.1,51 und die Auferstehung Jesu', *ZNW* 31 (1932), pp. 199-204
- WINTER, P., *On the Trial of Jesus*, (Berlin, 1961)
- WREDE, W., *The Messianic Secret*, (E.T., Cambridge, 1971)
- YAMAUCHI, E., *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, (London, 1973)
- YOUNG, F., 'Two Roots of a Tangled Mass?' in *The Myth of God Incarnate*, edited by J. Hick et.al., (London, 1977), pp. 87-124